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What Is Disturbing The Presbyterians?

By William H. Hudnut, Jr.

Crisis Coming in Puerto Rico
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Tomorrow's Empty Pulpits
An Editorial

The March of Civilization
By T. Swann Harding

Pacifism Disintegrating
An Editorial

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In This Issue

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, JR.

is minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ill., a pulpit to which he came four years ago after a pastorate in Cincinnati. While in Cincinnati he served as staff correspondent for The Christian Century. Dr. Hudnut bears one of the most honored names in the Presbyterian ministry, his father having been minister for forty years of the First Presbyterian Church of Youngstown, Ohio. This is the third in the series of articles on "What Is Disturbing the Churches?" The fourth article in the series, dealing with the Episcopalians, will appear in a forthcoming number and will be by W. Norman Pittenger, of the faculty of General Theological Seminary, New York.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

has just returned from a two months' visit to Puerto Rico, where he made a careful investigation of political, economic and social conditions in America's only colonial possession. This is the second of three articles dealing with what he discovered there. Mr. Villard contributes regularly to The Christian Century. His address is 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.

T. SWANN HARDING

is a frequent contributor to many American magazines, and has had many articles published in The Christian Century during the past decade. He is the author of a number of books, among them *The Joy of Ignorance, T. N. T.—The National Tax-eaters* and *The Popular Practice of Fraud.* Mr. Harding's home is in Falls Church, Va., a suburb of Washington, D. C.

Coming

Many denominations will hold their national conventions within the next two months. The Christian Century will furnish its usual complete coverage of all such gatherings.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 26, 1944

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Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 515
- Tomorrow's Empty Pulpits 518
- Pacifism Disintegrating 519

Quintus Quiz: Aged Conceit 521

Contributed Articles
- What is Disturbing the Presbyterians? by William H. Hudnut, Jr. 522
- The Coming Crisis in Puerto Rico, by Oswald Garrison Villard 526
- The March of Civilization, by T. Swann Harding 527

Books
- The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, by Adrienne Koch 529
- Books in Brief 530
- Books Received 531

Correspondence 532

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from England 533
- Correspondence from Chicago 533
- Wisconsin Primary Analyzed 534
- Correspondence from Chile 536
- Correspondence from Washington 536
- Correspondence from Portugal 538
- Correspondence from the Southeast 540
- Correspondence from New York 541
- Correspondence from New York State 542

Current Feature Films 542

Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 26. Methodist General Conference, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 26-28. Southworth Lectures, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.; Albert Peel, speaker.
Apr. 28-30. Bondurant Lectures, University of Illinois, Urbana; Charles Clayton Morrison, speaker.
Apr. 30. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York, speaker.
May 3-6. Council of Bishops, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Birmingham, Ala.
May 3-6. State Conference of Social Work, Minneapolis, Minn.
May 3-15. General Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Detroit, Mich.
May 7. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Ralph W. Sockman, speaker.
May 7-14. Religious Book Week.
May 8-14. Christian Family Week.
May 10-14. Diamond Jubilee Anniversary, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Tyler, Tex.
May 14. Rural Life Sunday.
May 14. Festival of the Christian Home (formerly Mother's Day).
May 14. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Charles R. Brown, speaker.
May 16. Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga.
May 16. New York East Annual Methodist Conference, Brooklyn.
May 18. Ascension Day.
May 18-21. Pennsylvania Congregational Christian Conference, Pittsburgh.
May 21. Northern Baptist Youth and Camp Sunday.
May 22-25. Annual Church Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, O.
May 22-27. National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, O.
May 23-26. Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City.
May 25. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Montreat, N. C.
May 25. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Chicago.
May 28. Pentecost Sunday (Whitsunday).
May 30. Memorial Day.
May 31. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, New Concord, O.
May 31-June 4. Midwest Synod, United Lutheran Church, Bloomfield, Neb.
June 1. Reformed Church in America, General Synod, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
June 3-10. Presbyterian Work Conference, Labor Temple, New York.
June 4. Trinity Sunday.
June 5-July 14. Summer School, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.
June 6-15. Institute of International Relations, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
June 7. Northeastern Jurisdictional Methodist Conference, Ocean City, N. J.
June 7-11. Philadelphia and Baltimore Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Philadelphia.
June 7-July 19. Lisle Fellowship, Eastern Unit, Lisle, N. Y.
June 8. Corpus Christi Day.
June 9-16. Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
June 11. Methodist Student Day.
June 12-16. Pennsylvania Presbyterian Synod, Chambersburg.
June 15-Aug. 15. Presbyterian Work Conference, Chestnut Ridge, W. Va.
June 16-21. Centennial, General Eldership, Churches of God. Penbrook, Pa.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
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Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

ONE by one proposals for organizing and maintaining the postwar peace which had an enthusiastic following a year or two ago are dropping by the wayside. The latest is the plan for an international police force which would curb aggressors and "put teeth" in any postwar covenant. A few days ago the state department let it be known that it has decided that any such plan would be impracticable. Instead, it is now thinking in terms of "strong national forces" to be maintained by a half-dozen of the major victors, which would be expected to "join to suppress or put down international disturbances threatening general war." Certain liberal quarters profess dismay over this development, but it is hard to understand why. In the first place, we have never seen a detailed plan for an international police force that would work. In fact, the Culbertson plan is the only one we have seen worthy of serious consideration, and that never had a real chance of being adopted. In the second place, the scheme which the state department says it is now adopting is precisely the same scheme that President Roosevelt was quoted as favoring in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* more than a year ago. Why, therefore, be surprised when it is chosen by the President's department? It should be recognized, however, that this scheme for preserving peace by preserving the big armies, navies and airforces of the victorious powers rests on an exceedingly debatable assumption. This is the assumption that all the threats to peace in the future will come from Germany or Japan.

No Postwar World Police Force

Confusion Confounded In Italian Puzzle

HOW anyone, Italian or otherwise, can continue to have any confidence in or respect for the policy which the United Nations are following in Italy is more than we can understand. After the events of the past few months Italian democrats—if there are any left—must have come to the conclusion that the purpose of the Allies in their fantastic political maneuvers is to fill the air with protestations of devotion to democracy while filling the seats of power with tried and tested reactionaries. Latest in this series of almost incredible manipulations is the promise of King Victor Emmanuel to "retire" if, as and when the Allies take Rome. The whole statement released by the king was so full of jokers as to be virtually meaningless. The king would not abdicate; he would "retire." The crown prince would not become regent; he would become "lieutenant-general of the realm." And this would happen only after an event which may not take place for months. Yet the Allies have accepted this as meeting their requirements for a reformed, liberal Italian regime, purged of fascism! How will it improve conditions in Italy to substitute (perhaps) Umberto for Victor Emmanuel, especially since Umberto had far more to do with the fascists than his father ever did? And especially while leaving Mussolini's Duke of Addis Ababa as premier? William H. Stoneman, the best informed American correspondent with our armies in Italy, is right when he says: "The Allied acceptance of this solution is a distinct victory for the king himself and for his son." It is likewise another setback for the forces of Italian liberalism.

Martial Law Invalid In Hawaii

APPEAL is still pending on the recent decision of Judge Metzger that a military court in Hawaii was without authority to try and convict a civilian. Comment on the specific case must therefore be reserved. The issue is fundamentally the same as that which has been troubling the military and civil authorities of the island territory for many months. Is Hawaii under martial law or is it not? In the habeas corpus case, also decided by Judge Metzger, who was upheld by the higher court, General Richardson, military governor of Hawaii, was found guilty of contempt of court for refusing to recognize a writ of habeas corpus issued by the civil court, and it was only by a presidential pardon that he was released from the sentence imposed upon him. So far as the courts can decide it, the decision still stands that, when the civil courts are open and func-

tioning without interruption (as they are), the writ of habeas corpus cannot be suspended. The present case presents many points of similarity. The military governor and the military courts claim that it is necessary to keep in their own hands the trial of civilian offenders whose acts concern the military forces. (In this case a navy yard worker is accused of assaulting two Marine sentries.) The ground for this claim is that, quoting Admiral Nimitz, "Pearl Harbor is in danger of attack so long as a single Japanese aircraft carrier remains afloat." Recent events in the southwest Pacific, involving disasters to the Japanese navy and the pushing back of the Japanese line of naval defense far toward the Philippines, give these words a strong flavor of unreality. The actual danger of invasion appears to be negligible, as both General Richardson and Admiral Nimitz have admitted. The judge cites the clear words of Hawaii's organic law, which declares that martial law "ceases and becomes unlawful as soon as the civil government is capable and willing to resume its normal functions." The fact that the defendant in this case is an inconspicuous shipyard worker does not make the case unimportant. Dred Scott was also an inconspicuous figure. The central issue here is the age-old tendency of military authorities to encroach upon civil rights under cover of an emergency and to keep their power after the emergency has passed.

Intolerance Pursues Japanese-Americans

SECRETARY ICKES went out to the Pacific coast to turn loose a typical blast the other day—one of the kind that make you want to throw your hat in the air and cheer. He branded many of the proposals being made to deal with Japanese-Americans as "intolerable," and warned the "professional race-mongers" of the coast that they would never stampede his department, so long as it remains responsible for the conduct of the War Relocation Authority, "into undemocratic, bestial, inhuman action." But if there is this admirable spirit behind the attitude of the government toward these victims of the war, incidents from many parts of the country show that the American public is not doing equally well in living up to our national pretensions to square dealing. Here are four items of news gathered in a single week. In Evanston, Illinois, protests by neighbors forced a theological professor to cancel the leasing of his house to a family of Japanese-Americans, the father a Rotarian and a graduate of Leland Stanford and the mother of the University of California. In Great Meadows, New Jersey, threats by neighboring farmers forced a farmer to discharge five nisei who had come from a relocation center in Arizona. A worker in another relocation center lamented that loss of faith in American fairness is now driving numbers of young nisei, without any previous contacts with Japan or sympathy for Japan's war policy, to choose deportation to Japan after the war. And in an army camp in California nisei soldiers who have sought to express their resentment against the treatment being accorded their Japanese-American fellows in intolerant American communities by refusing to obey their officers' orders, are being sentenced after military trials to prison terms of as much as thirty years. These and other incidents which might be cited suggest that this matter of the treatment of Americans of Japanese ancestry is getting no better fast. It is high time for the churches to make a more direct appeal to the spirit of fair play in American communities. It is not alone the department of the interior which must not be "stampeded into undemocratic, bestial, inhuman action."

Secretary Hull Avoids Wilson's Blunder

MR. HULL'S recent radio address on foreign policy merits the careful examination which it continues to receive here and abroad. It is probably the most important pronouncement made by the government of this country concerning its relations with the rest of the world since the declarations of war. Although it is likely to be remembered as marking the moment when we finally turned our backs on the Atlantic Charter, as was said in these columns last week, the speech will also stand as the point at which this nation recognized the necessity of an open commitment to participation in international organization. This commitment was not contained in the words Mr. Hull used concerning the organization of world institutions of a judicial, legislative and executive character. Such words have been used before. They have failed to carry reassurance either to our allies or to the people of the United States because they did not commit the people. But in this address Mr. Hull announced that he is seeking the advice and help of both houses of Congress. He has asked the chairman of the powerful foreign relations committee of the Senate to name a bipartisan group for this purpose. Members of the House of Representatives are also to be consulted, although the procedure for securing their counsel is not described. If this policy is carried through in good faith, and we have no reason to doubt that it will be, it represents an important advance in the democratization of policy-making. At the same time, it makes possible an assumption of responsibility in international dealings by the representatives who speak for this nation which has hitherto been impossible. The people of the United States have waited a long time for evidence that this administration did not intend to repeat President Wilson's mistake when he took with him to Paris a partisan delegation at the end of the last war and then presented the Senate with a virtual ultimatum. Now that evidence is at hand. It remains to be seen whether a sound procedure is carried through in a right spirit.

Religious News Delayed In Transmission

IT WAS doubtless well enough, as a matter of keeping the record straight, to have a press dispatch cabled from Russia to the effect that "Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow, Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, today challenged the fundamental basis for the pope's authority as the 'vicar of Christ on earth,' " and to get from the Archbishop of York, who had just landed in New York, a statement that the Anglican Church agrees with

the Eastern Orthodox on this point. But Father Parsons, S.J., from whom the *New York Times* hastened to get an expression of the Roman Catholic view lest that large element of its constituency should take offense at this publicity for the anti-Roman view, was clearly right in saying that this could scarcely be classed as news. The Moscow story was published under a date line to which was added the word, "(Delayed)." Indeed it was—about a thousand years so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned and at least four hundred for the Anglican. Perhaps the surprising discovery of news value in these statements reflects the ignorance of the general public about even the broadest outlines of the distinctions between the churches. Nothing, it seems, can be taken for granted when facts or opinions about religion are brought to the attention of such a large and miscellaneous audience as the readers of the metropolitan press. It is scarcely to be wondered at if they grope rather blindly in their judgments concerning issues involving the relations of church and state, religious liberty and the part to be played by the churches in the re-establishment of a world order if they know so little about the structure and claims of the churches that it is necessary to inform them, even at the cost of cable tolls, that the Eastern Orthodox and Anglican churches deny, while the Roman Catholic Church affirms, that the pope is the infallible "vicar of Christ."

Open Parole Plan To Objectors

WITH something like 3,000 men in prison because of the faulty operation of the selective service law, the government in Washington has decided it is time to act. So a new parole plan has been worked out which is intended to free as many as possible of these men for constructive service of some kind. Selective service boards have been set up in all the federal prisons. These boards are instructed to classify all draft violators as either 1-A —ready for immediate military service, 1-A-O—non-belligerent military service, or 4-E—conscientious objectors qualified for work of national importance under civilian direction. The first two classifications will be paroled to the army immediately after they have passed physical examinations, and the last to Civilian Public Service camps or to the numerous special assignments on which conscientious objectors are working. Those who are unable to pass the physical examination will be given a special parole to do any kind of work approved by the attorney general. They may keep their wages. All men over 38 will also be given this special parole. The men who are unwilling to be paroled will have their cases reviewed individually by a parole committee. It is believed that this new plan, aided by a liberal interpretation of what constitutes "religious training and belief," will remove from the prisons a large proportion of the men who are now incarcerated there. The chief difficulty is expected to arise from the Jehovah's Witnesses, who insist on being classified as ministers when selective service denies they are such, and the c.o. absolutists, who will accept nothing less than complete freedom. We hope that this plan is given a fair chance to work and that it will end the buck-passing between selective service and the department of justice concerning who is responsible for the failure of the selective service law to provide work of national importance for conscientious objectors to war. The next item on the agenda, now that an opportunity to work is opening up for all, is provision of pay. Some of the men in the Civilian Public Service camps have now been engaged in what the government tells them is work of national importance for three years. It is time they and their dependents received a fair wage.

Why is Mr. Wallace Going to China?

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S announcement that he expects to visit Chungking in the near future has given rise to some speculation as to the reasons for so long a journey at this time. Some of the guessers declare that in this election year the vice-president is removing himself from politics to make room for another candidate for his office. Others affirm with equal confidence that he intends to enhance his attractiveness to the voters, as General Grant and William Jennings Bryan each attempted to do, by dramatically returning from distant places at the right moment. A more plausible line of speculation is taken by those who look to the Orient for the reason for his trip. Another monsoon season of military inactivity is approaching in Burma. The Japanese drive into India will have to be thrown back before further advances are possible. Meanwhile China is caught in the grip of an inflationary spiral which is almost as disastrous as scorched earth warfare. In a couple of months that country will enter into its eighth year of war. That anniversary will be a sober one indeed, particularly in view of the clearly established difference of policy between the United States and China on the one hand and Great Britain on the other. Admiral the Lord Louis Mountbatten's war strategy is based on the recovery of Singapore and the ousting of the Japanese from southeast Asia. That of the Sino-American allies is aimed at the earliest possible relief of China and the establishment of bases for an attack on Japan from the China coast. Under these circumstances, it is not unreasonable that the second highest official of the United States government should journey to China. His visit will dramatize not only for the Chinese but also for the British the belief which persists in Washington of the importance of the role the Asiatic ally of the United Nations may still be expected to play in the war, and of the necessity for the future peace of Asia that China be allowed to develop into modern nationhood.

General MacArthur Does Not Refuse

CONGRESSMAN MILLER, Republican of Nebraska, achieved something like a one-man unveiling of the MacArthur-for-President movement when he made public the text of letters which have been passing between himself and the general since September of last year. To be sure, MacArthur's name has appeared without his consent on the ballots in preferential primaries in several

states. In Illinois, for example, he triumphed handsomely over a completely unknown real estate man whose name was the only alternative offered by the Republican ballot. The gist of the correspondence is contained in two extracts. Miller: "I am convinced that you will carry every state in the union and this includes the solid south. . . . Unless this New Deal can be stopped this time, our American way of life is forever doomed." MacArthur: "I do not anticipate in any way your flattering predictions but I do unreservedly agree with the complete wisdom and statesmanship of your comments." Miller's further exhortations include advice to make no declaration but prepare to be drafted, to promise upon nomination that he will accept only one term, and to stay on the job in the Pacific until he is elected. Additional comments by MacArthur are to the effect that he knows and likes Nebraska, that "your description of conditions in the United States is a sobering one indeed and is calculated to arouse the thoughtful consideration of every true patriot" lest we "inadvertently slip into the same condition internally as the one which we fight externally," and that he will be glad when more substantial forces are placed at his disposal for the war in the Pacific. Tentative as these replies are, they indicate no displeasure at the suggestion of his candidacy and they quite definitely align him against the "New Deal," whatever that may imply in the present situation. The later explanation that he did not expect the correspondence to be made public cannot carry much weight in view of the absence of any hint that it should be kept in confidence.

Tomorrow's Empty Pulpits

WILL the years of the war leave the Protestant churches of America with hundreds of empty pulpits? Is there in prospect an entire college generation which will send almost none of its sons into the Protestant ministry? The church at large has not yet waked to this possibility, but those who have most to do with the training of ministers are deeply alarmed. The danger does not yet show up in the theological seminaries, which are still full of students. But what is to happen after those now in the seminaries graduate—many of them into the chaplaincy—and there are no younger candidates to follow them?

Some may say that, after the war is over, returning chaplains will take care of the problem. To a slight extent this will prove true. But it should be remembered, first, that the prospect is for a postwar army and navy (especially navy) of such expanded size as to require the services of hundreds more chaplains than have ever served in that branch of the ministry in past times of peace. In the second place, it should be borne in mind that large numbers of pulpits are now being served by men who have been called back from retirement or who would normally have retired, but who have been prevailed on to try to hold the situation together until the end of the war. And finally, the real danger lies in the fact that it is the student generation after the one now in the seminaries which is most likely to be missing from the future ministry. New draft plans, just announced by the government, are designed practically to cut off the supply of theological students for Protestant seminaries after the generation now in training graduates.

On April 13 General Hershey issued a directive which cancels the draft deferment of all pre-theological students after July 1. This is a part of the government's current drive to sweep into the fighting forces all young men under 26 who are not indispensable to the carrying on of an extremely limited list of "essential" occupations. In the eyes of the government the work of the Christian ministry is evidently not essential. Only some 1,750 pre-theological students are said to be affected by General Hershey's new order—a number too small to have any appreciable effect on the strength of the army and navy —but the effect of the disappearance of these men from the ministry on the Protestant pulpit a decade hence may well be calamitous.

Whether the Roman Catholic Church will be as hard hit by the government's new order we do not know. Our impression is, however, that the Roman Catholic system of encouraging an early choice of religious vocations will make it possible for that communion to classify its prospective priests of draft age as theological (not pre-theological) students. If that is so, there will be no gap in the ranks of the Roman Catholic ministry ten years hence. Whatever may be thought of past Catholic insistence on exemption for ordained priests and deferment for candidates for ordination, the result of thus buttressing the Roman Church against the future will have an important effect on American religious life. It will not be the first time, if things work out in this fashion, that the Roman Catholics have proved wiser, more farsighted, in their day and generation than Protestants.

The fact is, however, that this latest ruling for selective service only intensifies a crisis which was already confronting the Protestant churches. Even if deferments for the young men now enrolled as pre-theological students had not been canceled, the Protestant ministry was already in danger of serious losses. Empty pulpits ten and twenty years from now were already in prospect. Why? Because of three factors which have become characteristic of recruiting for the Protestant ministry. The first of these is the tradition that Protestant young men do not choose the ministry as a life work until they are mature. The second is that they volunteer for the ministry only in answer to a "call." The third is that those already in the ministry have too largely lost any feeling of responsibility toward the recruiting of their successors.

The tradition of mature choice has, to be sure, much sobering experience behind it. Nevertheless, the whole history of the Christian ministry shows that it is not the only valid tradition. Did Timothy, Aquinas, Luther, the Wesleys, Alexander Campbell, the younger Beechers lose in power because their sense of vocation was recognized and nurtured from youth onward? Has the present Archbishop of Canterbury? Hand in hand with this delusion that only religious vocations made in maturity

are serious vocations goes the reticence of many Protestant ministers to lay the claims of the ministry on parents and on young men of high school age. Does this grow out of any disillusion with their own calling? We would be loath to believe it. Yet the facts are as they are. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Protestant ministers who have never pressed the ministry as a life calling on anyone.

The result is a queer and perverted attitude on the part of Protestant congregations and families. This is especially true in so-called "strong" churches made up of urban and suburban middle class families. They would be surprised to have one of their young men, especially if from a "good" family, go into the ministry. They are content to rely on the country parishes, or on young men with restricted economic opportunities, to fill the ranks of the clergy. It is this attitude, together with the draft policy of the government, which is now on the verge of leaving American Protestantism bereft of the larger part of a generation of preachers.

What needs to be done? We are convinced that the thing most needed within the churches is a reversal of the traditional attitude toward this matter of a "call." To the average Protestant youth a "call" is some mysterious inner voice speaking to the young Christian in the inner recesses of his subjective consciousness, producing some sort of psychical crisis out of which the prospective clergyman is supposed to come flinging himself before the church authorities crying, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel." It is, in other words, a venture in the field of abnormal psychology. The candidate for the ministry seeks out the church to relieve him of an intolerable burden of conscience; the church stands back and awaits the approach of the candidate.

This may be a somewhat exaggerated account, but it is essentially true to the state of affairs which has grown up in too many Protestant quarters. It needs to be changed—and at once. Protestant churches need to make the securing of recruits for their ministry a first responsibility of their present ministers. They need to recognize their obligation to carry the "call." And boards of deacons need to cooperate with the ministers in incessantly seeking out young men of promise, many of them in their mid-teens, in order to present to them the "call" of God to a career which is socially constructive, spiritually rewarding and supremely needed in the crisis which the spread of secularism has brought upon our American communities.

Perhaps there are Christian ministers who do not yet perceive how ripe are the young men of the generation fighting the war, and of the generation which will immediately follow them, for the call of the ministry. It is true that twenty or thirty years ago the young man with a zeal to spend his life in the making of a better society was likely to be attracted by forms of social service or government employment. But the extent of the world's crisis has laid bare the limitations of such work, important as it remains, while at the same time it has shown the necessity to reach distracted inhabitants of this present world at a deeper level of need—the level where their sense of values and their ultimate beliefs are formed.

There should be no hesitation about pressing the claims as well as the opportunities of the Christian ministry on young men today. Young men in the services, and young men who will be drawn into the services if the war continues three or four years longer, are alike awakening to the limitations of political and philanthropic careers. The best of them are eager to invest their lives where they have the most direct chance to deal with the ultimate problems of their fellows. The Christian ministry, aware that it can no longer fritter away its resources on marginal activities but that it must gird to save man from the tyranny of a shallow secularism, needs to realize that there are hosts of young idealists, in all congregations and in families with all sorts of social backgrounds, who today offer promising material for the recruitment of the pastorate. If the parish ministry and the chaplaincy will alike seize the opportunity to search out such young men and press upon them the call of the ministry during the next year, the difference to the church in the decades following the war might well be the difference between an institution of majestic power and one of mocking feebleness.

Pacifism Disintegrating

THE LARGE VOLUME of correspondence which we receive from pacifist readers creates the distinct impression that pacifist ideology is disintegrating. Actual war has disclosed the fact that non-participation by an individual citizen in a going war is impossible. No pacifist has offered any proposal for stopping this war, or opposing it, or for non-participation in it, which does not contribute either to victory or defeat for this country. There are a few things some pacifists elect to do, thinking that they are thereby opposing war. But all such actions are obviously in opposition, not to the war, but to *their country* in the war, and in aid of the enemy. For no citizen is there any such thing as non-participation in the war. Or, to state it positively, participation is a necessity—for pacifists as well as for non-pacifists.

The conscientious objector thinks he is opposing this war by refusing to bear arms. He represents the front line of pacifism. All pacifists who are true to their principles would be conscientious objectors if they were in the draft. But the drafted pacifist who goes to prison or to a C.P.S. camp is not opposing war, as such. He is participating in the war by withholding his support from his country and thus aiding the enemy.

An actual war is just that kind of situation: it is a situation in which the essential and only distinctive principle of pacifism cannot be practiced. Perhaps the pacifist principle of non-resistance (or passive resistance, or nonviolent non-cooperation) can be practiced outside of a war situation. But when a nation has been struck and strikes back, non-resistance by any citizen is itself participation in the war on the enemy's side. This is the pacifist's predicament. It is a tragic predicament, because conscience is involved. It elicits the sympathy of all sensitive

people and, in the case of our own nation, receives special consideration from the state.

Pacifists react to their predicament in various ways. Some reconsider and see the fallacy in their pacifist principles in the light of their inability to act upon them. Some refuse to acknowledge that there is any predicament and go to prison or to C.P.S. camps under the illusion that they are avoiding participation in the war. Some conceal their predicament from themselves by earnestly working in certain humanitarian activities or for a just peace, none of which activities, however, are distinctively related to the essential principle of pacifism. These activities provide a psychological or subjective escape from the predicament. Others refuse to acknowledge their predicament and imagine that the war can be stopped short of victory, defeat or a stalemate, quite unaware that in any program which they can devise for this purpose they are actively participating in the war as defeatists. This is the position of those pacifists who are promoting the so-called Peace Now movement.

The main pacifist organizations are not supporting this movement. In last week's Christian Century we published a letter from an official leader of American pacifism which was designed to dissociate himself and his organization from Peace Now.* It was written by A. J. Muste, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the leading non-sectarian pacifist organization in this country. His communication clearly reflects the disintegration of pacifist ideology. Mr. Muste's letter may be taken as a representative statement of the position which pacifism has now reached. This letter makes it perfectly clear that the movement is shifting its emphasis from its distinctive principle of conscientious non-participation in war to the reasonable and realistic position held by all peace-loving non-pacifists.

At the outset Mr. Muste quotes from this paper the statement that "pacifists stand for peace first, last and all the time." This, he says, is an "oversimplification." As he proceeds, however, he shows that it is not merely an "oversimplification," but a radically inaccurate statement. Ordinarily we are apologetic when our errors are disclosed, but in this instance we find satisfaction in having our error made known as publicly as possible.

To show that he and, presumably, his organization, do not "stand for peace first, last and all the time," Mr. Muste contends that there are situations where peace is undesirable and that the existing military status quo may be such a situation. To demand peace now, he says, is to deal with peace "in abstraction from all other [issues] in the world." This is the most sensible and reasonable statement which we have read from the pen of any writer who calls himself a pacifist. Mr. Muste has a clear idea of the *kind* of peace which he is striving for. It is a "just and democratic" peace. In order to secure such a peace he offers no distinctively pacifist proposal, but one in which all non-pacifists can join, one which The Christian Century has advocated in season and out of season. He says:

> The policy which I advocate is that the United States should state its objectives in these terms and then offer to all peoples equal participation in the making of such a peace. I believe that this would be the most effective way to drive a wedge between the German and the Japanese people and their present leadership. It would also serve to take the political and spiritual initiative away from Russian totalitarianism which has it at the present time.

That is to say, the war must go on, but the "just and democratic" intentions of the United States, after victory is achieved, should be announced and used as a moral weapon for the weakening of our enemies. There is no hint of pacifism here. This is active participation in the war. Mr. Muste wants to see his country victorious and makes a strategic suggestion to that end.

He explicitly dissociates himself from those who advocate a "negotiated peace," though he seems to hold in reserve something which he calls a "peace by consultation" in which he says "pacifist organizations have been actively engaged." How a "peace by consultation" can be distinguished from a "negotiated peace" is not indicated. We would suppose that the two are identical. Certainly there cannot be a negotiated peace without consultation, and if there is to be consultation there will be negotiation. But whatever this hairsplitting distinction may mean to the pacifist mind, Mr. Muste does not want the war to stop now, by either "negotiation" or "consultation." He writes:

> I am not *working for* a so-called "negotiated peace," which would mean an attempt to stabilize the existing power relationships among Russia, Great Britain and the United States on the one hand, and Germany and Japan on the other hand. Such a "peace" would contain within itself the seeds of World War III. If, therefore, hostilities ceased on that basis, it would be necessary to point that out. Even so, I would rejoice that actual wholesale slaughter of human beings had ceased and I believe that in the absence of such slaughter there would be a better chance to undo the evil and achieve a positive solution than is possible while war is being waged. That chance could, however, be utilized only by elements which had not become captive to the fascists and near-fascists and which could accordingly offer a clear-cut alternative to "unconditional surrender" on the one hand, and a "deal with Hitler" on the other hand, an alternative to reactionary economic policies and forces as well as to the administration which constitutes a liberal—or pseudo-liberal—front for the same kind of forces.

Mr. Muste's words will come as a shock to his fellow pacifists. Their leader is emasculating pacifism and renouncing it. He plainly prefers the continuance of the war to any attempt in the name of peace to "stabilize the existing power relationships" between the belligerents. Such a peace, he says, "would contain the seeds of World War III." Though he would "rejoice that actual wholesale slaughter of human beings had ceased"—as who would not?—and believes that even such a peace by stabilization would offer "a better chance to . . . achieve a positive solution than is possible while war is being waged"—as, again, who does not?—he clearly would prefer that the war should go on if the alternative is to be "a deal with Hitler."

We are not concerned here with the merits of Mr. Muste's argument. Our concern is merely to point out that this is not pacifism. It represents the abandonment of the only distinctive principle of pacifism. Whatever the theoretical pacifists in civilian life may think of Mr. Muste's confession of faith, it will particularly shock

*See "Pacifists and Peace Now" on p. 501 of The Christian Century for April 19.

those conscientious objectors who are paying a price for their pacifist conviction that war is the supreme evil as well as for their illusion that they can avoid participation in it. Their leader manifestly does not contemplate the continuation of the war with such moral revulsion as he contemplates certain political contingencies which he foresees as possible if, by stopping the war now, the resulting peace is not "just and democratic." Mr. Muste's reasoning cuts the ethical ground from under the conscientious objectors; obviously, they should be engaged in active fighting for their country in order that these contingencies worse than war should not come to pass.

We have only a passing interest in the reasons given by Mr. Muste to explain why the F.O.R. does not cooperate with Peace Now, and we are not concerned to discuss this portion of his letter. Our concern, we repeat, is only with the implications of his position in respect to pacifist principles. That our interpretation is in line with the impression he intended to make is indicated by the following candid statement: "I am convinced that the great majority of pacifists have a closer spiritual kinship with certain supporters of the war than with such extreme isolationists and reactionary elements." The "reactionary elements" to which he refers are those who would "stop the war only if reactionary political and economic interests were served and would certainly institute permanent conscription and permanent militarism and imperialism." Mr. Muste's declaration that the "great majority of pacifists have a closer affinity with certain war supporters" than with these "reactionary" groups who might actually wish to stop the war for their own reasons, can mean nothing else than that a certain kind of political order which he, rightly, detests is far worse than the continuation of the war to the point of victory. This is not the way traditional pacifism has spoken. It is the way nonpacifists argue in support of war.

Whether "the great majority" of pacifists will or will not approve Mr. Muste's reasoning is yet to be disclosed. But it is important to observe that the "closer affinity" with certain war supporters is the result, in Mr. Muste's case, of his radical abandonment of pacifism. We are bound to welcome his thoughtful and penetrating letter as a sign that pacifists are waking up to the intolerable predicament in which their doctrine has involved them.

Aged Conceit

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: For reasons of which you, being kind, will not remind me, I have found much wisdom in a recent book which deals with growing old. The author frankly tells us who are invited to sit under him that among other dangers which lie in wait for us are these: we shall be tempted to think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think, and we shall practice excessive prudence in our financial dealings. Or briefly, Conceit and Penuriousness.

There are reasons why an old man should be careful in his expenditures—apart from the fact that he may have little to spend. But it is one of the odd arrangements of our civilized life that we cling to money when it is of least use to us. When our only trips are taken in a wheelchair and we can live on a digestive biscuit, we pull the purse strings tightly. What a pity pecuniary emoluments cannot be arranged on a descending scale, so that youth may have what old age cannot use! Do you remember the Chinese army in which the general in command got up first in the morning and the lowest ranks last? (This, I should add, is not fiction, but sober fact.)

But it is to conceit in old age you are invited to turn. My author is severe in the judgment of it. There is no excuse whatever for an old man who is conceited, and by that I mean personally vain. There is something to be said for conceit in youth. It may have a certain compensation value. A young man feels that he has something in him greater than anything he has yet had a chance to show. His friends, schoolmasters, teammates, brothers and others do not recognize these gifts; to them he is less than he thinks he is. What wonder that to balance this judgment he should think of himself more highly than he should and give himself the appropriate bearing?

Youth deals with the large field of the unexplored, and in that has ample scope to forecast and antedate its own achievements. A youth may be vain about achievements he has not done as a stage to doing them. Conceit may be an alloy, but alloys are not altogether bad. The prayer of the Scot, "Gi'e us a guid conceit of ourselves," is not defensible ethically, but it seems to be answered sometimes, and this perhaps has a place in youth.

But think of conceit as it establishes itself in the old man! He has no *terra incognita* in which he can place his supreme excellence. By the time he reaches 70 he has shown pretty well what he can and what he cannot do. He has had sufficient time to shed his vain illusions. The records stand. If he is an athlete, it is known in what time he did the mile; if he is a poet, he has sung his lays by now—it is little use his boasting about songs he could have sung; if he is a preacher, it is pathetic to hear him speak of what he really was and tell how he could never see what people saw in Dr. Timothy to whom the place was given which *he* ought to have had.

Conceit always involves comparisons. An old man cannot be conceited without setting up a standard for others, and measuring them by it. So he lifts up himself by lowering others, and conceit goes with censoriousness. Do you agree that the happiest old men are those who bubble over with admiration for others? And the most unhappy are those who have "never had their due"? As we get old, we should loosen our purse strings and enlarge our admirations.

Do you remember Thomas Traherne on his childhood? It is the piece of English which moves me more than any other. In that world of wonder there were strange things. "The men! O what venerable and reverend creatures did the aged seem! Immortal cherubims!" I dare not suggest that old men should think of their old friends as immortal cherubims, but they should be venerable and reverend.

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Third Article in a Series on 'What Is Disturbing the Churches?'

What Is Disturbing the Presbyterians?

By William H. Hudnut, Jr.

LET it be clearly understood at the outset that I do not speak for the Presbyterian Church; not even the angel Gabriel could do that. We are a stiff-necked and unregenerate people who for centuries have insisted on the right of private judgment, and no man can speak for us. Let it also be understood that nothing—no great cause nor any master irritant—is deeply disturbing the Presbyterian Church at the present time. As preparation for this article, friends in various sections of the country were importuned for their opinions on the subject assigned, and with startling unanimity their answers came back: "Our church is not greatly disturbed about anything." To be sure, each correspondent went on to qualify this statement, but the general feeling was strong that no all-absorbing issues or acute tensions are upsetting the church as a whole.

This is, of course, exactly what disturbs those who love it—that in a day of such indescribable catastrophe our church should be relatively undisturbed, characterized by the same old comfortable spiritual lethargy, continuing to sit on well cushioned pews and listen to sermons preached primarily to please the parish palate, still politely reticent financially, giving away only about one-seventh of what it spends on itself, and never dreaming of using its full power to implement its principles. This is not to say that our church is not doing many things for which we can be grateful; but the purpose here is not so much to rehearse the accomplishments as to confess the shortcomings of the church we love. Thoughtful Presbyterians are deeply concerned as they feel the desperate need of the world on the one hand and acknowledge the ineptitude, the impotence and often the irrelevance of their church on the other. Why is it thus handicapped and ineffective?

I

For one thing, because it is divided. It is divided racially, with segregated presbyteries and synods. At General Assemblies the Negro commissioners are frequently given accommodations inferior to those assigned to their white brethren. It is divided theologically, with militant fundamentalists still causing some dissension, and with petty, harmful little sheets like the *Christian Beacon* that live on controversy and are nourished by attacking such magnificent leaders as Dr. Coffin and doing all in their power to foment the spirit of ill-will and distrust. And it is divided governmentally, with a disgracefully large number of Presbyterian denominations in this country when there should be but one.

When will the church honestly face the fact that sectarianism can never be an adequate answer to the appalling secularism of our time? It is as ineffectual as though a hundred men were each to construct his own frail little craft for sailing the ocean, instead of combining to build a sturdy, seaworthy vessel actually capable of reaching the distant shore. It is as futile as a cup of water at a forest fire. People of the "whatever is, is right" school think that our multiplicity of ecclesiastical subdivisions is the will of God, and thus hamper our efforts to achieve an honest measure of cooperation with the Episcopalians and a reasonable degree of unity within our own Presbyterian household. It disturbs thoughtful Presbyterians to realize that their church is still rent asunder by a major schism that is over eighty years old and should long since have been forgotten, and by minor separations that can only reflect to a skeptical world the inability of religious people to practice the cooperation they profess.

How can the church ask the nations to subordinate their sovereignty to a world sovereignty when it steadfastly refuses to subordinate its denominational sovereignty to that of the ecumenical church of Christ? We do a great deal of talking about the subject, but we always manage to evade effective action. Because we cannot achieve the ultimate we fail to accomplish the immediate. Perfection eludes us; so, perfectionists that we are, we scoff at the minor adjustments to limiting realities which would make the next step practical. We say, "The time is not yet ripe; perhaps in fifty years," and so do nothing. If our church really means business in this matter of interdenominational cooperation, our General Assembly should take at least three actions in Chicago next month:

1. Make it abundantly plain, beyond the possibility of misunderstanding or misinterpretation, that any of our churches in the south which choose to unite with the Southern Presbyterian Church are free to do so, and will receive the blessing of their ecclesiastical authorities. There is no more reason for the "northern" church to have a synod in Florida than there would be for the "southern" church to compete in Ohio.

2. Urge each Presbyterian church, in small towns where there is but one Presbyterian and one Episcopalian church, or in whatever community it might seem feasible, to unite with the Episcopal church if it be the stronger; otherwise to urge the Episcopal church to unite with it. The rector or minister could receive joint ordination. Often this would provide a regular ministry for a parish which has none; occasionally it would free a man for the chaplaincy or other important work; almost invariably it would save overhead and increase the amount of money given away; and it would provide an impetus toward cooperation on a "grass roots" basis.

3. Propose to each denomination active in the Federal Council that together they form a more perfect union by delegating to the council the authority *and the money* to carry on such major enterprises of the Protestant Church

of Christ in America as can be more effectively and economically handled by a single agency, namely:

a. The overseas administration of all their foreign missions.

b. The preparation of all their Christian education materials.

c. The direction of all their pension plans.

d. The initiation of a vigorous, country-wide and long overdue drive designed to make weekday religious instruction a living and powerful reality in the American public school system. If America is to be saved for Christian character, the church must see to it at once that more effective ways are provided for the distribution and inculcation of the truths of the gospel, for Christian ideas have lost their hold over wide sections of the population.

Should our General Assembly take these actions it would be giving specific and farsighted leadership in matters that are seriously disturbing wide areas of Presbyterian thought. Naturally, many will rise up to say that these suggestions are absurd, utopian, impossible. Indeed, from any present, practical standpoint they are so far beyond the capacity of American Christianity that I write as a fool. But one of our greatest troubles is that, as Spinoza observed, "we confine ourselves to the possible, and so we have no problem."

The Presbyterian Church must clean its own house before it can speak with any authority about the nation's. It can find its life only as it is willing to lose it in self-sacrificing and unpopular leadership. The times call for consecrated imagination, high courage and deep faith on the part of Christians. We need not hope to create a better world order after the war unless we start creating it now. Nothing short of heroic effort will suffice to meet the need of our time. Of course the task will be difficult, but the way can be found if the will is there.

II

For another thing, thoughtful Presbyterians are disturbed because their church's rate of production is far below what it should be. We are producing statistics and literature and money and sermons and intra-parish activity a lot faster than we are producing Christian experience. "A Methodist," said John Wesley, "is one who has the love of God shed abroad in his heart." If the Presbyterians are to be judged by the number of lives in which they helped that miracle of grace to happen this past year, they come off pretty poorly.

Here is a church with brains, money and leadership, and one might expect, in view of all this, some encouraging results. On the contrary, there were 1,306 "southern" and 2,917 "northern" (according to my count) Presbyterian churches last year that failed to enlist one single solitary soul for Jesus Christ. Think of it, well over four thousand societies organized expressly for the propagation of the gospel whose combined efforts failed to win even one person to profess his faith in the Christian enterprise! Imagine the condition of a merchandizing chain in which a third of its stores failed to secure one new customer during the course of an entire year! That is not a fair or accurate analogy, of course, but it does suggest the tremendous gap there is between our standards of production and those of business.

Thoughtful Presbyterians are deeply disturbed by this dearth of spiritual productivity, by this shocking lack of enlistment, by this fearful failure in evangelism. But the rank and file of our church does not seem much concerned about it. Are we, like Zacchaeus before Jesus met him, remote and hard, "all our batter turned to crust, all our water turned to ice"? Do we not care that in the last three years (these figures refer to the "northern" church) we have lost nearly 200,000 Sunday school pupils? Are we undisturbed by the fact that our rate of growth from 1926 to 1942 was only 4.9 per cent, whereas the population rate was 14.3 per cent? Can we be satisfied with our spiritual condition when we realize that last year, in relation to our total expenditures, it cost us $670 to win each new member who joined on profession, and that it took an average of 29 Presbyterians the entire year to secure one convert to the Christian faith? If the church's primary responsibility is to produce Christians, then certainly Presbyterians are falling down on their job.

In a flash of inspiration, Father Divine once remarked that "the trouble with most ministers is that they don't know how to tangibilitate." In view of our failure to win new members, to recruit our young men for full-time Christian service, and to train our laity in an adequate conception of the Christian life and mission, one begins to see that there is an uncomfortable amount of truth in his indictment. So often we ministers make God's reality unreal, and set people to work on ecclesiastical trifles instead of on making over their own lives under divine guidance. Of course we need to reach the unchurched, but there is almost as crying a need to evangelize the churched, those for whom familiarity with the gospel has bred indifference to it, those who have been "inoculated with a mild form of Christianity and are immune to the real thing."

Stanley Jones was disturbingly close to the truth when he remarked that the modern church is more of a field for evangelism than a force for it. Our failure to win others is regrettable and wrong, but our failure to reach those whom God has entrusted to us is tragic. The two problems go together, of course, but one suspects that our poor showing with the first is largely due to our inability to handle the second.

A sentence from a novel of some years ago comes back with scalding force: "It was Sunday, high noon, and the Presbyterian church on the corner was giving up its dead." Perhaps our church is no more secular than any other, but it is more privileged than most, and therefore more accountable. Unless we can rediscover the strong sense of mission characteristic of previous generations of Presbyterians, unless we can find what Pasteur said he had, "a lasting provision of faith and fire," unless once more we can become a church on the march, we had better give up all thought about helping to shape the postwar era, for the terrific tensions and forces of that day will shape an ineffective and unproductive church to their own secular pattern.

III

Which leads us quite naturally to a final observation: Thoughtful Presbyterians are disturbed because their church is timid. Too often the church seems to be what

was said of Shelley: "A beautiful and ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in the void in vain." Many of our churchmen are disturbed by the painful slowness, the studied inoffensiveness and the absorption in minutiae so characteristic of contemporary Christianity, and are conscience-stricken that the Presbyterian Church has not been able to avoid the general indictment. The failure of our church to meet the challenge of this day is not due to lack of sight, nor even to lack of insight, but to lack of courage. Sometimes one almost feels that the well known stanza beginning

Like a mighty army,
Moves the Church of God

should be revised thus:

Like a halting caravan
Moves the Church of Christ;
We are feebly faltering
Toward our timid tryst.
We are all divided,
Many bodies we,
Kept apart by doctrine
And lack of charity.
Careful, Christian pilgrims!
Walk in doubt and fear,
With the cross of Jesus
Bringing up the rear.

Name almost any problem you will that troubles the conscience of the church today and at its core will be found timidity. Why are we winning so few people? Because we, clergy and laity alike, fear to speak to them personally about their relationship to Christ. Why are we so divided? Because we selfishly fear to accept those limitations on our independence which truly effective cooperation with other denominations would entail. Why is the recruiting of our ministry so tragically inadequate? Because we fear to raise and spend the money necessary to give us expert teaching, equipment and supervision in our church schools, which are today suffering from pitifully low and antiquated educational standards, though they are the fountainhead of our missionary effort at home and abroad.

Why is there such a degree of spiritual illiteracy among us, such a lack of observance of those religious disciplines which alone will build staunch Christian character? Because we have allowed several generations of Presbyterians to grow up without adequate training in their church responsibilities for fear lest some of them, seeing that a good, stiff course of instruction was required, would join another denomination. A minister said recently, some time after he had been urged to receive no one into his church, even by letter, without adequate instruction in the fundamentals of the faith, "I did take it up with my session, but they were afraid that people wouldn't like it." Timidity!

Why is our attempt at social action largely a paper and discussion group affair? Why is our concern about economic justice and racial discrimination so limited? Because we fear to offend the sensibilities of our clientele. Why do we steadfastly refuse, year after year, to deal creatively and firmly with such troublesome problems as the placement of ministers, the rural pastorate, democratic representation at General Assembly and on its boards, segregated synods, post-seminary education for all ministers, fairer adjustment of clerical salaries, and other household problems none of which is beyond our intellectual or spiritual capacity? Simply because we prefer to muddle along as we are, and fear to risk the tensions that might develop if we took vigorous Christian action along these lines.

It is easier to condemn the world in general than to clean our own house, and so as a church we never quite come around to applying the Christian imperative to ourselves. We have a sense of impotence and sin, we know that we do what is expedient instead of what is daring, we realize that we are not providing the leadership of which we are capable, but we are just too concerned about what Wordsworth called "the sauce and garnish of life," too fearful of what might happen to salary, position or prestige, to bring these matters honestly and resolutely under the judgment of the mind of Christ.

The Presbyterian Church needs to gird up its loins. We are doing much already; we are neither at ease nor asleep in Zion. But we need to do more; we need to prepare for action, solve these problems that are impeding our progress, and fare forth really to do the work of Christ. Far too many of our clergy are apologetic, tentative and timorous in their approach; they never say anything which could possibly, by the widest stretch of the imagination, offend anyone. So often we seem to be followers, not leaders, of public opinion. There are men of courage, but they are pitifully few compared to the multitude that a vigorous church should constantly be creating, a church that has as its Head one who came to cast fire upon the earth.

Tremendous tasks await us as soon as we prepare ourselves spiritually to meet them by recapturing true discipline of life and reverence of worship: the enlistment of high school youth and young adults for Christ; the preparation of adequate service outlets for our soldiers when they return home; guarding now against postwar despair and disillusion; gathering funds and training lives for the staggering opportunity of world reconstruction that will confront the missionary enterprise after the war is over; and securing a hearing for the voice of Christendom at the peace table. Such tasks as these are already challenging our attention, but we will never bring to them that truth of word and strength of thought that should always characterize the church militant until we deal bravely with the problems at our own door.

A Prayer of Erasmus

(1467-1536)

O THOU, who art the true Sun of the world, evermore rising, and never going down; who, by Thy most wholesome appearing and sight, dost nourish and make joyful all things, as well that are in heaven as also that are on earth; we beseech Thee mercifully and favorably to shine into our hearts, that the night and darkness of sin, and the mists of error on every side, being driven away, Thou brightly shining within our hearts, we may all our life long go without any stumbling or offense, and may walk as in the daytime, being pure and clean from the works of darkness, and abounding in all good works which Thou hast prepared for us to walk in. *Amen.*

The Coming Crisis in Puerto Rico

By Oswald Garrison Villard

San Juan, April 5.

I HAVE FOUND but two things upon which all Puerto Ricans agree—the evil done to the islands by the coastwise shipping law and the impossibility of remaining in the present colonial status much longer. Conservatives, liberals, radicals, continental Americans and Puerto Ricans all declare that the island cannot continue under the existing control from Washington without serious happenings. Only yesterday an American business man, who is putting his money into a new and promising enterprise, declared that he would prefer to see independence rather than to live on under the present rule. When you know the complete hostility in the past of the American business man here to independence, this is an astonishing indication of the bitter feeling against bureaucratic government from Washington. He added: "I have seen three great industries killed here and now I am witnessing the destruction of a fourth for the benefit of Cuba."

He referred to the rum industry which has been doubly hard hit, first by its restriction to 80 per cent of its expected 1944 production and second by a limitation of the carton wrappers by edict of the WPB. Now I am personally not for the rum industry, but there is no denying that it has proved a financial help here in time of need and that the taxes on it now pouring in upon the insular treasury have made possible the far-reaching social and economic program mapped out for the next six years. For the first time the treasury has had a rich and unexpected windfall, due to the disappearance of spirits in continental America.

Infuriated Colonials

What infuriates the Puerto Ricans is that this limitation upon the total rum production is due solely to consideration for Cuba, which has also had an enormous increase in rum production. They ask why the welfare of American citizens on this island should be subordinated to that of Cuba, a foreign country. They are the more stirred because of reports that Washington has thus favored Cuba chiefly because of bad conditions there which may lead to trouble and, second, that this severe economic blow has been inflicted upon Puerto Rico because of some more mixing up of economics, politics and war policies in order to keep the Latin-Americans in line with our war effort. The Puerto Ricans believe that this discrimination against them is due solely to their colonial status. Already some distilleries have laid off fifty per cent of their workers—something very serious in view of the ever present unemployment.

This is but one more instance of arbitrary bureaucratic disposal of Puerto Rican affairs added to a very long list. It is not made easier to bear by the assertion that it is a war necessity, for the Puerto Ricans are not unaware that, having no voting representation in Congress, they were put into this war without the casting of a single vote in their name. They do not let you forget for very long that they had autonomy when the Americans marched in and that they also had had representatives in the Spanish Cortes for years who spoke and voted in their name. They constitutionally object to being governed without representation and they are certain that if Congress does not give them some relief, and if unemployment grows steadily between now and next fall, there will be most uncomfortable conditions.

Labor Making Trouble

Puerto Rican labor is already restless and exceedingly difficult to deal with. Its leadership is not forceful or very responsible. A contract with employers is not always something to be lived up to—not by any means. The workers themselves are inclined to be unreasonable in their demands and to cut down their efficiency deliberately. In other words, labor is in a transition period, in almost a revolutionary one, and it is experiencing the unsteadiness which is characteristic of similar evolutions in other countries. It does not realize that the danger of injuring Puerto Rican industry is far greater than similar risks elsewhere because of the seriousness of the entire economic situation. This is neither the time nor the place for labor to demand everything it craves, for the island is always on the verge of economic disaster.

What form will the unrest take? I have asked this question of many people of many opinions. The answer is that there will be strikes, political outbursts, mass demonstrations leading perhaps to breaches of the peace, violence and the necessity of police interference. Some believe that there will be attacks upon personal property, even breaking into homes. Those who favor independence are certain that this unrest will advance their cause. There are, however, extraordinary differences of opinion as to the progress of the independence movement. Some of its leaders believe that it is making much headway, but that is not a widely held belief.

Bureaucracy or Independence?

It stands to reason, however, that if the expected crisis comes and dissatisfaction and suffering mount, the dislike and distrust of Washington will grow rapidly even if the road to economic freedom and self-support is not open. Yet in the main the propertied classes oppose independence now because they fear that if Puerto Rico is freed it will be the victim of its politicos and probably end in a dictatorship. They cannot see how the island could possibly buy the $100,000,000 worth of goods it now purchases from the United States if it were excluded from the American tariff zone and deprived of annual cash benefits from Washington, which have ranged since 1933 from $33,000,000 a year to $63,500,000.

Given freedom from this tariff thraldom to the United States, plus the ability to pay the island's bills, and I believe a majority of the Puerto Ricans would vote for

independence. That, too, will be disputed here. I spent an evening with 26 religious leaders recently and only three believed that the mass of the workers would vote to cut loose from the United States even if assured of a successful economic career afterwards. Perhaps this is the case; as a passing observer I, in my ignorance, am not convinced.

There is a good deal of stirring among youth. There is uneasiness. There is a marked growth of the feeling that there is no hope whatever of a decent life under American rule. It is a fact, I believe, that many intellectuals feel that a spiritual union and a real brotherhood between Puerto Ricans and continental Americans are impossible. As more and more of the islanders realize that statehood is impossible, that it will probably never be granted by Congress, the trend to independence will grow. To my mind this is inevitable. But I should be the last to say how and when it can be achieved. I agree with Senator Taft's statement that if in the long run the Puerto Ricans insist on independence we shall give it to them. Every tenet of democracy will compel us to do so.

Muñoz-Marín

As for the political parties, they are not on record as favoring independence. The Popular party, headed by Luis Muñoz-Marín, is not committed to it, much less the conservative opposition parties. Muñoz-Marín himself once voted for it in a newspaper poll. Now he declines to commit himself, saying that he will not express any opinion since his party is silent on the issue. He faces many troubles within and without his party; he has not held a party convention in four years. But if Congress should grant an election for governor and Muñoz-Marín should run, he is likely to be elected.

It will be the Franklin Roosevelt situation repeated here. There is no one in the opposition to compete with him in forceful oratory, in popular appeal, and his slogan of "Bread, Land and Liberty" cannot be offset by any from the Conservative coalition with its familiar demand for non-interference by the government in private business, government economy and a reduction of taxes. There is no magic in that and the coalition is as destitute of an outstanding strategist as are the Republicans in Washington.

Why should not Muñoz-Marín win? Whether he is the right type, whether his is the right character or not, whether he is sincere or insincere, he has given these hungry, downcast people some hope, some suggestions of a better life instead of this present utterly barren one with three-fourths of the people undernourished. Of course it is a dangerous thing to hold out those hopes when their realization is so uncertain. Of course it is a question whether this indigent country and its master, Congress, can and will provide the means to carry out those aspirations of Muñoz-Marín. But if man cannot live by bread alone, even more he cannot live without bread. And he will not go down to destruction without at least one effort to save himself and his soul; of that we may be sure, whatever it may mean in the way of violence and violent protests.

Why not, when his people annually die before his eyes at the rate of 415.5 per 100,000 from diarrhea and enteritis, as compared with 14.2 in the States; when tuberculosis carries off 266.5 per 100,000 and pneumonia 176.1 while the corresponding figures on the continent are 44.7 and 67? Why not, when malaria kills 107.3 in Puerto Rico and 1.8 in the United States? Why not when—worst of all—the second cause of death of all males between the ages of 26 and 34 and of females *between 15 and 19 is—suicide!* Yes, under the American flag. In a population of two millions. Forty-six years after the American occupation, and General Miles's promise "to bestow upon you the Puerto Ricans the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government."

Only tuberculosis kills more women and men in these age classes than suicide—often the suicide of despair. Look at those starved, heartbreakingly resigned children at Mrs. Tugwell's milk stations. Recall that the price of two of our latest battleships—over one hundred millions each—would tear down every house in the vile slums so near where I write, the like of which are to be found all over the island. It would erect new and decent houses and in addition would build schools for all the 200,000 children now destined to illiteracy. Look at these slums spawning beggars, the blind, the abnormal, the physically incapable, the insane, the prostitutes, the hopeless wrecks that are a permanent charge upon the island as long as they live and—well, why should we not look for trouble next fall if Congress again refuses self-government? Ought there not to be trouble? Wouldn't you try to make trouble if you faced these conditions?

The Way Out

The way out? First of all, Congress should pass the bill drawn by a joint committee of Puerto Ricans and continental Americans, approved by Secretary Ickes and Governor Tugwell and forwarded by the President (who appointed the committee) to Congress on September 28 last. It would give the island an elected governor and enable him to organize a responsible government. It has defects—notably the appointment of a North American commissioner general—but it would be a great step forward. The Senate has torn it to pieces and proposed a government which can only make it impossible for any governor to succeed. It is as if it were a trick to create a situation to demonstrate that Puerto Ricans cannot govern themselves. The bill should be redrawn and then passed. Its psychological effect here would be tremendous.

Aside from that, unless Congress is ready to make a broad, wise and general revision of the entire situation, it will grow worse economically and spiritually. We have reduced Puerto Rico to a mendicant status and its population grows at the rate of 30,000 a year. That means more and more doles, more subsidies, more millions, until Congress and the President decide to give Puerto Rico the big capital investment it needs, to take off its tariff and shipping handcuffs, to give it complete autonomy and the right to be governed not by a Washington bureaucracy but here on the spot, for better or for worse. Then there will be some hope for the island and a fair basis for a decision as to its final status, whether under our own flag or the Puerto Rican.

The March of Civilization

By T. Swann Harding

THE STORY is told that, in September 1777, one Patrick Ferguson, commanding officer of his majesty's Rifle Corps and best shot in the British army, deliberately refused an opportunity to shoot George Washington in the back near Brandywine Creek, Pennsylvania. However, he called to Washington and the French officer accompanying him so that they could at least face the lead. But even then he could not shoot these men in cold blood and they passed unharmed.

That story is in the best traditions of savage warfare. The modern transition from savage to civilized standards of warfare, especially in recent years, is a thing of sinister and macabre interest to the detached observer of organized disaster and massacre. Just where it will lead us ultimately it is difficult to say, as we have no standards of judgment.

Edward A. Ross tells us that when the fierce New Zealand Maoris were besieging an enemy's stronghold and knew that the enemy lacked food, stones or spears, the besiegers would stop the battle a while to send in a supply, usually laying them in heaps before the defenses and then retiring. This reminds us of recent truces in southern Italy during which Germans, Americans and British have mingled freely while removing the dead and wounded of all armies, a curious reversion to savage standards in modern civilized warfare.

Savages Would Not Understand

Savage wars were little more than hastily organized forays, usually carried on for loot and captives. Only a comparatively few warriors were engaged and tribal life met as little interference as possible. Captive women and children, and sometimes men, were rarely killed or tortured. Instead, they were appreciated for their value and often became members of or slaves to the winning tribe. Such things as the Japanese and Germans have done in modern times would have been most repugnant to savages.

Compare these savage forays also with the battle General Leonard Wood fought in which 900 Filipino men, women and children were killed with total American casualties of 15. Thereupon Theodore Roosevelt wired his congratulations to General Wood on his heroism. Around that time General Jacob Smith ordered that all inhabitants of the island of Samar above the age of ten be annihilated. In those days the 20th Kansas swept through Caloocan and left alive not one of its 17,000 inhabitants, as reported by an officer who helped do the sweeping. Many other entire villages were wiped out. All this was in the best tradition of modern civilized warfare and gave the inhabitants of the islands an idea of what they might expect when the Japanese took hold. Many such instances could be cited.

Those who enlisted in the Cecil Rhodes-Jameson raid into Matabele land were promised nine square miles each and a share of the loot, mostly cattle. Then a quarrel was picked with the Matabele chief, Lobengula, and the joint stock company invaded his territory with mercenaries and became sole owner of 148,000 square miles and 700,000 Negroes. In some such way the Germans got German East Africa, Leopold of Belgium got the Congo, and Britain got Nigeria, East Africa and Uganda, the savages being quite unable to cope with civilized methods of warfare. Generally speaking their ignorant and intoxicated kings signed their realms away for gin or promises of protection. But there are many things savages simply would not do in making warfare.

Scruples in Knightly Armor

Civilized man has, however, devoted much painstaking, conscientious care and ingenuity to the development of ever improved means for the destruction of human life and property. Throughout the aim has been for man to destroy his fellow efficiently, regardless of the momentary ethical qualms largely rooted in savage instinct. Thus the submarine was originally a despised and uncanonical instrument for warfare at sea. For some time after its use against armed men-of-war had won sanction, it was considered unethical to use such dastardly means for destroying merchant or passenger ships. For a while endeavor was made to give warning and permit passengers and crew to escape. But finally civilized triumphed over savage standards. Now all-out use of the submarine has become common and no one regards it as atrocious.

Even firearms were originally regarded as indecent for use in organized massacre. The Chevalier Bayard, whose name is a symbol for nobility in battle and who coined the priceless phrase, "without fear and without reproach," had decided views on this matter. He considered it both uplifting and Christian to hack a fellow man with a sword or run through him with a spear, but most immoral for an anonymous churl with an iron tube, some gunpowder and a slug of lead to obliterate an armed knight before the latter knew what was up. Therefore the chevalier hanged on the spot all prisoners his troops took who by their dress or equipment appeared to have been using firearms. What he would have thought of submachine guns, the highly culinary art of using flame throwers and the utilization of other modern tools of civilized warfare can only be surmised. In any case he lived rigidly up to his quasi-savage philosophy.

Civilized Objectivity

Fortunately for the success of our side in this war we have at last learned to contemplate with complete civilized detachment the spectacle of several thousand young men flying out in several hundred machines to set enemy cities afire. Neither are we bothered any longer by the fact that the most precise aërial bombing of fixed objectives still renders the horrible killing of civilian men, women, children and babies quite unavoidable. Had we indeed been unable to triumph over our more decent

savage instincts we should have been in a poor way to win a war against enemies who had become fully civilized in the modern sense and had no such scruples. To be sure there are recurrent cries from the partisans of savagery, who rise to denounce the systematic destruction of enemy cities. These are quite properly and promptly squelched.

The matter came up in Britain in somewhat the same form. A little earlier the wisdom of destroying workers' homes, with many of the workers inside them, was debated. It was concluded that the paramount objective was to destroy the enemy's power of production and this, as the enemy showed at the Clydesdale in Glasgow, could be accomplished quite as well by destroying the homes as the factories. In either case work was disrupted for an indeterminate period and that was the desideratum.

Superior Methods of Civilized Warfare

This essential we should keep constantly before us. Insofar as is known our side in the war has never deliberately destroyed hospital ships or hospitals, though the enemy has done so. Here the enemy surpasses us in the matter of making civilized warfare. For it is quite apparent that many of the wounded will be rehabilitated and that hospital ships and hospitals aid in this rehabilitation. If the war is to be shortened all enemies and all enemy property should be destroyed ruthlessly and without regard to its nature.

This again is in the best tradition of civilized, though not of savage, warfare. Whenever any great nation has felt it necessary to penalize or subdue some group of human beings of a less somber color than ornaments us so-called Caucasians, it has not hesitated to shoot and bomb ruthlessly. Entire villages have been destroyed and everyone in them, sick or well. Numerous instances of this sort of thing could be cited.

True, there have been reversions to the higher standards of savagery from time to time. Curiously enough it was the Japanese during the Boxer Rebellion who treated the Chinese far better than did the Germans and French, who unnecessarily exterminated many of them. That may have been, of course, because the Japanese stood closer to savagery than the others present, though the British and Americans also behaved fairly well.

German Ferocity

The extreme ferocity with which the Germans make war might be attributed to their high state of civilization if it were not for the fact that the Russians can equal them and the Russians have not long been regarded by us as highly civilized. However, there is evidence that the Russians, like the British and Americans, perform the prodigies of death and destruction with considerable reluctance, indicating that traces of abject savagery have not yet been eradicated in them.

It would probably be as well for us if we became realists and faced the fact that, so long as international problems are to be settled in last analysis by resort to organized massacre and destruction, we must become adept at the art to survive. This means that we too must overcome our savage ethics and squeamishness and seek to attain that degree of civilized sophistication which will enable us to regard every enemy national, in uniform or not, and every bit of enemy propery, regardless of its use, as fair game.

Any factor whatever that aids in bolstering enemy morale and striking power should be eliminated if possible. It has been found useful not only to destroy enemy submarine bases and war plants but also to blast their power dams and burn their cities and forests indiscriminately. This may drown or fry thousands of civilians. In any case it renders them helpless. It may even help to destroy enemy religious and cultural institutions, which surely have value in the maintenance of morale. For any structure at all may serve a war purpose, however indirect. A church, museum or school may be used to house war workers rendered homeless by bombs. If such structures did not exist these workers would be uncomfortable and unproductive longer.

Civilized Ideas of Warfare

If we are to be a success in the modern world we must turn fully and wholeheartedly to civilized methods of waging war. Savage codes of ethics, fastidiousness and humanitarianism must be eliminated insofar as possible. The pious hoax of international law may as well be discarded as a vestigial remnant of savagery.

It is a strictly civilized idea that the world can be improved by killing a few million people, burning cities, drowning as many as possible, and half-starving the survivors. No savage could ever even conceive of so indirect and complicated a method of achieving progress. Most savages would be horror-stricken at the results attained when the best practical applications of scientific knowledge are applied to mass murder and property destruction.

Our most fervent hope, in the circumstances, should be that civilization will find means to accomplish its own destruction. That may not happen in this war, which is already won save for the arson, slaughter and general disaster yet needed to prove it. It will certainly happen in the next war, already far in the making because the peace is obviously lost and only fitful armistice for a few years can intervene.

The possibility that the Western hemisphere can remain in the civilized world unravaged is too unlikely to contemplate seriously. We cannot tell now who will ravage it but a war there must be to do so, a war which should reach every nook and cranny of the world and reduce the human race to utter squalor and destitution. At that point it is perhaps not too much to expect a recrudescence of savagery, purely as a matter of self-preservation. To that alone can we look forward with any optimism.

Critic

BY wounding, acid words he strove to show
For all the world the blackness of his foe.
Yet in the vitriol with which he sketched,
His own dark-tainted heart and soul were etched.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

BOOKS

A Philosophy of Freedom

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. *By Adrienne Koch. Columbia University Press, $2.50.*

A RECENT scholarly article on Jefferson, written by an eminent historian and published in a leading magazine, praises and illustrates the wide range of Jefferson's practical and intellectual interests but gives no hint that he had any concern with philosophy, unless the statement that he made translations from Destutt de Tracy may be considered as such a hint—and that is certainly a very dim one for most readers. It would not be much help to explain that Tracy was an exponent of "ideology." The question would be, *What* ideology? But a century and a quarter ago the word denoted a particular philosophical system which Tracy expounded in many volumes and which Jefferson found congenial to his own thought. For with all his versatility—writing the Declaration of Independence, inventing the dumb-waiter, practicing architecture and agriculture, to mention only a few specifications—Jefferson took seriously the need of a thinking man for some orderly pattern of general concepts to furnish the unifying framework for his thoughts and actions.

Jefferson had such a system. This was his philosophy. It is not claimed that he made any original contributions of importance in the field of pure philosophy. But by an appreciative and critical study of the thinkers of the centuries before him, especially Greek, English and French, he worked out a system which, though not wholly consistent and not thought through to its logical conclusions, furnished a philosophical foundation for (or a rationalization of) his theories of human nature, natural rights, government, economics and education.

Dr. Koch received the award of the Woodbridge prize in philosophy from Columbia University for this thorough and brilliant piece of research. Readers who remember *G. Adolf* Koch's *Republican Religion,* which discussed the influence of English and French deism upon the formation of a theory of revolution in America and a theory of democratic government after the Revolution, will be interested in this more profound and penetrating study, by *Adrienne* Koch, of the philosophy, and incidentally the religion, of the author of the Declaration of Independence, who became the patron saint of democracy.

Jefferson's empirical method was expressed in his statement that "a patient pursuit of facts, and cautious combination and comparison of them, is the drudgery to which man is subjected by his Maker, if he wishes to attain sure knowledge." He was suspicious of dogmas, absolutes, authorities and *a priori* ideas in every field. His attitude toward metaphysics was that of Locke, and of the Enlightenment generally. Yet he often called himself a "materialist," which is certainly a metaphysical proposition and one not very logically derived from his sensational theory of knowledge. What he apparently meant by it was that by observation we can know material substance, and no other kind. The material brain produces thought, which is neither material nor substance. This is a mystery; but so also is the immaterial force of gravitational attraction exercised by the material sun. God made it so. He considered it blasphemous for the orthodox to put it beyond the Creator's power to give the capacity for thought to a material organism without the intervention of an immaterial substance (soul). He does not say whether the Creator also is material. He could be called a theistic agnostic. Though he "rejected miracles, inspiration and revelation without compromise," and held to a "rational Christianity" (his own phrase) more radical even than Priestley's, he stopped far short of the position reached by Holbach, Diderot, d'Alembert and the other French materialists.

It seems fair to say that Jefferson's materialism was methodological rather than metaphysical. His interest was in a method "by means of which unfounded speculations and dogmas can be weeded out of the field of authoritative knowledge" (as Koch says of Tracy).

In his twenties and thirties, Jefferson was forming a strictly anti-clerical attitude, developing the doctrine of separation between church and state, and forming the conception of a secular state, which he believed to furnish the only possible escape from sanctified obscurantism and the only framework for a free society. But from the beginning he saw that liberty requires morality. It was therefore necessary to establish morality on a basis independent of supernatural sanctions, since these are never open to pragmatic check and are always subject to manipulation by interested parties. He was early attracted by both Stoic and Epicurean ethics and tried to combine the excellences of the two systems. "Ultimately it was to the 'morals of Jesus' and the current moral sense theory, with its stress upon native feelings of sympathy and benevolence, that Jefferson turned for the social reinforcement of his ethical position." His ethical and religious relativism, which paralleled and supported his rejection of political absolutes, forbade the acceptance of the "morals of Jesus" as an authoritarian system. It was good not because Jesus had given it, but because it was conformable to the nature and needs of man. Jesus was a more reliable ethical teacher than the Stoics and Epicureans because he gave larger place to man's other-regarding impulses. The fundamental moral and social fact about man is this: "Every human being feels pleasure in doing good to another."

The autonomy of the moral sense, independent of religion or theology, made religious tolerance possible and laid a foundation for the Bill of Rights, since it took away the ancient argument—a cornerstone of all Christian governments for more than a thousand years, and still a cherished principle in some quarters—that religious conformity is essential to social morality and therefore to political stability. "Virtue with or without God" was Jefferson's phrase in a letter to his nephew.

Considerations of space prevent discussion of Tracy's "Ideology," Dr. Koch's exposition of which breaks new ground and will be of the utmost interest to many readers. It is doubtful whether this system exercised any great influence on Jefferson's thought, but he became very enthusiastic about it and devoted much time and energy to publicizing it in America, evidently because it coincided so completely with the ideas he had already formed. It was congenial with his own thought, for one reason, because Tracy, like Jefferson, believed that a system of philosophy should furnish a scientific method applicable in any field and because both men were really more interested in these applications than in the mere method. "Ideology," stemming from Condillac's philosophy which was itself a shoot from the Baconian-Lockian root, rejected metaphysical speculation and *a priori* argument and rested the case for all knowledge upon the observation of phenomena. It was in accordance with that principle that Jefferson affirmed a pragmatic criterion for religion: "I must ever believe that religion substantially good which produces an honest life, and we have been authorized by one whom you and I equally respect to judge of the tree by its fruit."

It would be no service to Jefferson's reputation to represent him as a great philosopher, for it can easily be shown that he was not that. But he was a lifelong student of philosophy, and he adopted and developed a system of ideas which gave coherence to his versatile activities in the interest of human liberty and welfare.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

FACTS ON FILE YEARBOOK, 1943: PERSON'S INDEX OF WORLD EVENTS. *Edited by R. L. Lapica. Person's Index, Facts on File, Inc., 516 Fifth Ave., New York 18, $20.00.*

As a compendium of information about everything that happened during the calendar year of 1943, so indexed that the data and date of every event can be found in a moment, this volume is without a peer. It is based on the weekly digest of world events, *Facts on File* (subscription price, $25 a year). The yearbook is a collection of these weekly issues of the news service with the addition of a very complete index for the year. Each weekly section contains about 10,000 words of purely factual material, no opinions or editorial comment, with the following departments: the war, national affairs, foreign affairs, Latin America, finance and economics, arts and science (including literature and the stage), education and religion, sports, obituaries, and miscellaneous. Under each topic the items are arranged by days. This is, in effect, all the newspapers of the year boiled down for permanent record and indexed for ready reference. The value of such a digest for those who need to keep their minds perfectly clear about the events of the year, or to refresh their memories regarding the details of the history that is being made with such bewildering rapidity, can scarcely be exaggerated.

THE PROBLEM OF EZEKIEL. *By William A. Irwin. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.*

Critical study of the Old Testament has done surprisingly little to disturb the traditional view of the unity of the book of Ezekiel, the chronological sequence of its prophecies substantially as arranged, and the accuracy of the datings scattered through the text. Scholars as thorough in their research and as diverse in their views on other topics as Smend, Driver, Bewer and J. M. P. Smith have been in general agreement on these points. Ten years of study, stimulated by directing the studies of many advanced students, have brought Irwin to conclusions differing widely from these and from his own earlier opinions. With characteristic modesty he presents his results not as ultimate and demonstrated solutions of the problem but as a contribution, supporting them by a thorough exhibition and analysis of the evidence upon which they rest. Even readers rusty (to put it mildly) in their Hebrew will find his argument intelligible, since all quotations in the language of the original (and in the unpointed text) are followed by the corresponding English. To this reader, the analysis and rearrangement here given and the setting of each section against its appropriate historical background make of the whole a much more enlightening and inspiring book.

Books Received

Adventures in Good Eating. By Duncan Hines. 23rd printing. Adventures in Good Eating, Inc., Box 548, Bowling Green, Ky., $1.50. The newest edition of the famous guidebook to good food. Thousands of automobile tourists used it with gratifying results—when there were any automobile tourists. A companion volume is *Lodging for a Night* (12th printing, same price). Most of these restaurants and hotels can be reached by railroad as well as by highway. For those who do their eating and lodging at home, there is also a Duncan Hines book of recipes, *Adventures in Good Cooking and the Art of Carving* (also same price, 8th printing).

The First Lady of China, The Historic Visit of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek to the United States. Chinese News Service, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. A fully and beautifully illustrated account of Madame Chiang's visit to this country in 1943. The publication is a contribution to understanding and good will by the International Business Machines Corporation.

The Geography of Peace. By Nicholas John Spykman. Harcourt, $2.75. This volume, with its many maps and diagrammatic representation of world forces, shows that the principles of geopolitics are applicable to the making of peace as well as to the strategy of war. Maps drawn by new systems of projection and picturing the globe by "angle shots" from unusual points of view throw much light on the geographical factors in the problem of peace. Students of postwar possibilities will find the author's approach fresh and suggestive.

Hymn-tunes of Lowell Mason, A Bibliography. Compiled by Henry L. Mason. University Press, Cambridge, Mass., $3.00. As the "father of church music in America," which he undoubtedly was, Lowell Mason sired a very large family of hymn-tunes. The count shows that he composed 1,210 original ones, and produced 487 more by arrangement or adaptation from many sources. He was more eager to compose than careful to collect or even to claim credit for his compositions. The work of the bibliographer was therefore not easy. Years of research have gone into the production of these lists, which include many of the still cherished treasures of American hymnody.

The Church and the War. By Karl Barth. Macmillan, $1.00. (To be reviewed.)

Remember Now, Daily Devotional Readings for Young People. By Walter Dudley Cavert. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $1.00. A topic for each week; a suggested Scripture reading, a brief and well illustrated interpretation and application, and a sentence prayer for each day. Devotional literature for youth must have the ring of reality, must be earnest but not solemn, must make religious and moral ideas seem important and relevant to life. Dullness, conventionality and pomposity must be avoided, while on the other hand strained cleverness and frivolous appeals to superficial interest must equally be shunned. This description of the ideal book of devotions for youth comes very near to being a description of this one.

Behold Thy Mother. By G. Bromley Oxnam. Macmillan, $1.25. A little book designed to express the beauty and filial piety that should characterize Mother's Day, or any other tribute to mothers, but to exclude the conventional sentimentalism into which such tributes are in danger of falling. It does.

The Manner of Prayer. By William Douglas Chamberlain. Westminster Press, Philadelphia, $1.50. Seven of the nine chapter titles are phrases of the Lord's Prayer. In spite of the limitation apparently imposed by the title, the discussion covers not only the "manner" (whatever that might mean) of prayer, but also the spirit, attitude and content of effective prayer and its doctrinal and moral implications. The author is professor of New Testament in Louisville Presbyterian Seminary.

Pamphlets

When the Iron is Hot. By W. H. Moore. Printers Guild, Pickering, Ont., 25 cents.

Outline for Study of the Bible. By Charles W. Melick. Methodist Pub. House, Detroit, 50 cents.

International Exchange of Students and Scholars. By Paul J. Braisted. Hazen Foundation, Haddam, Conn., 10 cents.

What Religion for our Children? By Henry Neumann. New York Society for Ethical Culture.

What Kind of World Do You Want? An Interpretation of the Six Pillars of Peace. By O. L. Simpson. Methodist Pub. House, 15 cents.

The Next Peace. By R. Alfred Hassler. Fellowship Publications, 2929 Broadway, New York, 25 cents.

Exit Empire. By Vernon Nash. Fellowship Publications, 25 cents.

Pattern for Peacemakers. By R. Alfred Hassler. Fellowship Publications, 25 cents.

Be Ye Comforted: Bible, Poetry, Prose. Compiled by S. Burman Long. Meador Pub. Co., Boston, 25 cents.

Soldiers for God and Country. By C. Holtrop. Zondervan, 35 cents.

Victory for the Shut-in, or The Ministry of the Storm. By David M. Dawson. Zondervan, 25 cents.

The Truth about Juvenile Delinquency. By Dan Gilbert. Zondervan, 35 cents.

The Adequacy of Christ in These Days of Separation and Sorrow. By Clarence E. Mason, Jr. Zondervan, 25 cents.

Your Postwar Job. By Bern Williams. Bernard & Ellis, 18 E. 41st St., New York, 25 cents.

A Proposed World Government. By George A. Birdsall. Author, 301 S. Highland St., Arlington, Va., $1.50.

The Amazon, A New Frontier? By Earl Parker Hanson. "Headline Series." Foreign Policy Association, 22 E. 38th St., New York, 25 cents.

The Ways and Teachings of the Church. By Lefferd M. A. Haughwout. Seventh edition, revised. Morehouse-Gorham Co., 60 cents.

CORRESPONDENCE

Riding a Hobby?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Please accept my genuine appreciation for the series now appearing on the subject, "What Is Disturbing the Churches?" Many of the consistent readers of *Zion's Herald* for the past fifteen years anticipated the article by Dr. Hartman on "What Is Disturbing the Methodists?" In fact, we knew so well the heart and the mind of the announced contributor on the Methodist disturbances that we were almost able to read the article *before* it appeared in print. It was typically Hartmanesque. How would it be possible for this distinguished and fearless editor to present a diagnosis of the diseases of Methodism without mentioning, first, the Negro question? For this question has been his pet subject, and his material for numerous editorials, comments and diagnoses for many a moon.

Beyond the three troubles which Dr. Hartman discusses at length —the Negro question, the jurisdictional setup, and the matter of Methodism's attitude toward war and peace—he merely mentions casually a few others. The first two could be boiled down into one, according to his oft-expressed conviction—the race problem. Why could he not have mentioned Methodism's attitude toward the great problem of temperance legislation during and following the war? Or Methodism's relationship to postwar education? Or Methodism's tasks in the field of evangelism, so vital, so needy, so troublesome, so essential now and always? Or Methodism's task in missionary expansion immediately following this conflict? No, not for Hartman! He sticks to his text faithfully, his text for many a year—the race issue. Probably if he were more closely related by residence to this ever present problem, he could speak with more authority and greater effectiveness.

Ghent Methodist Church, EDWARD J. REES.
Norfolk, Va.

Methodist Disturbance

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Dr. L. O. Hartman, the able editor of *Zion's Herald*, Boston, by the invitation of the editors contributed an article to The Christian Century on "What Is Disturbing the Methodists?"—or more properly, "some Methodists." The disturbance is not very great or very extended. He reports three areas of disturbance: the Negro relation, the episcopal elections and supervision, and pacifism. Limitation of space will preclude any discussion of pacifism except to say that the Methodist Church is patriotically and overwhelmingly committed to the military policy and practice of our country and its allies, whatever may be the manifestoes of individuals to the contrary.

The problems of the Negro and of episcopal elections and supervision, as presented by Dr. Hartman, are leftovers from the discussion of Methodist union and the Plan of Union. In 1936, Dr. Hartman opposed both for the very reasons which he has stated in his article. He spoke and voted against the adoption of the Plan of Union in his own General Conference, and then in his annual conference. He used his vigorous editorial pen in opposition up to the Uniting Conference and since then, frequently using the arguments which he here presents.

He stated correctly that by the Plan of Union six jurisdictions for the church in the United States were set up, the five white on a geographic basis, and the sixth for "the Negro annual conferences, the Negro mission conferences, and the Negro missions in the United States of America." He states also, what is here denied, that "segregation was the price paid for unification."

"Segregation" of Negro conferences and Negro churches was the policy and practice of Dr. Hartman's church for 75 years previous to the formulation of the Plan of Union. It had 19 Negro annual conferences in the very territory where it had 15 white annual conferences, and no voice was ever publicly raised in favor of wiping out the "racial basis." Such a procedure would have wiped out most of the white conferences, as everybody knows. Another practice of "segregation" was in the election of bishops by the General Conference. Negro bishops had to be elected by "segregated" ballots, on which only names of Negroes were allowed. On the ballots for white bishops names of Negroes were not permitted. "Segregation" was not a product of unification; only a recognized policy of the largest negotiating body. Facts are stubborn arguments.

Dr. Hartman wants to do away with the Central Jurisdictional Conference as a step toward doing away with "segregation" in the Methodist Church. But the basis of "segregation" is in the annual conference, against which he has never revolted. The 19 Negro annual conferences of his church before union are the 19 Negro annual conferences in the union. They have no more "segregation" now than then. These 19 conferences have just the same relation to the General Conference, to the general boards, the general funds, the general rules and regulations, that they had in Dr. Hartman's church. They have no less advantages and they have some new privileges. They can elect their own bishops without the participation of 600 or 700 white persons of the General Conference, telling them whom they may elect. They, through their jurisdictional conference, can set up any jurisdictional board, whether of missions, education, temperance or what not, and carry them on as their judgment and ability may warrant. They can be "somebody" in the Methodist Church in their own name without a white man interfering. Their jurisdictional status provides great possibilities of self-determination and self-control. Dr. Hartman wants to take all that away.

Of the 19 Negro annual conferences, 18 are within the territory of the two jurisdictions that are predominantly southern. Were the Central Jurisdiction eliminated these 18 annual conferences would be divided and become minority groups in the two jurisdictions made up of Southern Methodists. Only one conference would go geographically to a northern jurisdiction. That is what Dr. Hartman actually proposes when he asks that the Central Jurisdictional Conference be discontinued and the Negro annual conferences be distributed to the other jurisdictions geographically. Let it be remembered that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, did not have a Negro annual conference, a Negro church or a Negro preacher in it for 69 years. In 1870 by their own request the Negro

conferences, ministers and members, of the Church, South, were set off and set up as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, which has had a highly creditable career. The Church, South, had nearly 3,000,000 white members, 38 annual conferences, and over 6,500 itinerant preachers when union came. It takes very little imagination to see the utter impracticability of Dr. Hartman's suggestion that the Central Jurisdiction be eliminated and that the Negro conferences be put as minority groups in the southern jurisdictions.

Had Dr. Hartman's proposal been a part of the Plan of Union, in my opinion not a single annual conference in the Church, South, would have voted for it. That would probably be true even up to this day. As President Cleveland once said, "We face a condition and not a theory." With 70 years of "segregation" in policy and practice in the Church, North, and with 70 years of no Negro conferences, ministers and churches in the Church, South, the Plan of Union is evidently in line with the existing policy and practice. Some Methodists who want this condition broken down may be disturbed; were it broken down other millions of loyal Methodists would certainly be grievously disturbed.

It has been occasionally stated that the jurisdictional conference was devised to placate the south on the question of the Negro. That is not correct. The jurisdictional system would have been necessary had there been no Negro members in any one of the three churches, as everybody who knows the fundamental divisive issues well understands. The jurisdictional conference was devised to merge two very stubborn ideas of government. The Church, North, wanted a supreme, dominant General Conference. The Church, South, wanted four, with a connecting federal council of only advisory powers. The Plan of Union disallows both, and provides one great connectional law-making body in the General Conference and six large administrative and promotional units in the jurisdictional conferences, a system of enormous possibilities for Methodism and Christianity in this country. But that and the matter of bishops, their manner of election and supervision, cannot be discussed here and now.

Dallas, Tex. JOHN M. MOORE, Bishop.

Negroes in Southern Primaries

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the editorial comment of the April 12 issue of The Christian Century occurs a sentence which calls for correction in point of fact. I refer to the sentence: "Hitherto southern primaries have been conducted as though they were the caucuses of a private membership organization which excluded Negroes." Apparently that statement supposes that Negroes are denied the right to vote in the primary elections of all the southern states. For years they have been allowed to vote in Virginia primaries. They are also allowed to vote in the primaries of North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky.

You may be interested to know that the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, commenting on the recent Supreme Court decision in the Texas case, remarked: "That decision is one more milestone on the way to fairness and justice for the Negro." The *Times-Dispatch* has also long urged the repeal of the anachronistic poll-tax requirement in Virginia.

Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. GEORGE S. TARRY.

Where Help Is Needed

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Is there not something that the churches can do to help in the relocation of the Japanese-Americans? In some communities (like St. Louis, for example) churches have organized committees to help locate jobs and homes for the Japanese and to help them get acquainted when they come. This could be done in other cities, could it not?

The closing of the Jerome center in Arkansas will be the beginning of a consolidation process. Few, if any, would question the wisdom of this contraction of the WRA program, but it represents a real problem for the people involved. For some of the people in the Jerome center this will be the fourth move in two years. (The last was from Tulelake center in California last September.)

The government never meant the relocation centers to be permanent, and the WRA employees have been diligent in relocating the people. It is apparent by now, however, that more cooperation from people in communities will be necessary unless many of the Japanese-Americans are to be left in the centers. Without their cooperation—and especially the cooperation of church groups—this problem cannot be solved permanently and effectively despite the efforts of the government, for prejudice and ignorance will continue. How can the church fail to see its responsibility?

Norwich, Conn. DOROTHY WHEELER.

The Resurrection and Physics

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial, "The Resurrection Fact," I was more interested in your footnote than in the argument. If human history is regarded as a "continuum" then—

1. A *social movement*, such as the Reformation or the Renaissance, is a definite and uniquely characteristic corrugation coursing through a segment of that continuum.

2. A *decisive moment* is a "fault" (as used in geology) breaking across one or more corrugations of a stratum of the continuum.

This latter is inadequate. I have this note from another source: "This upper limit of velocity not only alters Newton's absolute time and space, but it changes mass." A corresponding thing happens in the continuum of history. That thing is a "decisive moment." Pearl Harbor was one; the Resurrection was one. One cannot explain this alteration of time, space and mass in a physical continuum without beginning with this upper limit of velocity. One cannot explain this alteration of the corrugations of the continuum of human history without beginning with this decisive moment.

This other definition is not jargon:

3. A *drama* (a written drama) is a survey of the contourage of the curvature of the events of a soul. (Events as here used might be defined as those acts and happenings of life which have meaning.)

Is this faddism, this defining history in terms of this new physics? The answer is No. This new physics is and was the Creator's design of the structure which he made. We shall understand that structure more accurately if we follow its design.

Presbyterian Church, Cross Plains, Tex. J. L. GLENN.

Economic Determinism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I was delighted with your "Pacifists Want Peace—But When?" in the March 15 issue. Only you don't know half the pacifists in the country want "Peace Now" and are with it. The opposition of the old so-called peace organizations is economic—the simple old source of evil. There is just so much money for peace in the country and the Peace Now Movement is diverting some of it.

Springfield, Mass. YONÉ U. STAFFORD.

Misinterpreted Author

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In commenting on my article on conscience, Theodore Webb has quite missed my point and misquoted by quoting too little. The question I had raised was whether there was any way for such people as those who "earnestly wished to judge objectively" to know whether they were succeeding or not. Having first reached the place where one lays aside one's own preference for what is right, saying "not my will but thine," one may still need some test of one's judgment. For such people the norm was suggested—does the judgment you act on create unity among those who have also dedicated themselves to right or does it produce antagonisms? There is, of course, no question of "standing with the crowd," as Mr. Webb suggests. I thought the point was important enough to trouble you with this letter. Apparently neither Mr. Webb nor I are anxious to belong to majorities.

West Chester, Pa. ALBERT L. BAILEY, JR.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Force Parliament To Change Vote

Churchill Informs House His Position Abroad is at Stake—Churches Plan Courses for Leaders of Young

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, April 4.—The political records of last week do not make good reading, though in the end the right thing was done. It is seldom that there is so much confusion in counsel as there was in Parliament when, upon a motion in committee by a private member, it was resolved to amend a clause in the education bill. This was meant to secure that equal pay should be given men and women teachers who do the same work. In spite of clear warnings by the minister of education the amendment was passed by one vote, and a crisis that seemed serious began. Mr. Churchill and his cabinet at once made the whole issue a question of confidence in the government. It was impossible, they urged, whatever members said, to separate a defeat upon a matter of home policy from its bearing upon the government's authority to carry on the war. The prime minister therefore moved that the clause as amended be deleted. He received overwhelming support, 425 votes to 23. Most of those who voted in favor of the equal-pay amendment protested that they never meant to put the government in danger.

* * *

Christian Youth Leadership Planned by Churches

The provision of leadership for youth is very much before educational reformers. The churches have made their plans to help, and there is one well planned scheme at the basis of all this new provision for youth whose schooldays are over. The churches will need to provide training. The British Council of Churches has arranged a course to be held in London, May 1-July 14. Studies will be grouped around four main headings: (1) "The Christian Faith and Modern Youth"; (2) "The Environment of Youth Today"; (3) "The Young People Themselves—Their Nature and Needs"; (4) "Principles and Methods of Youth Work."

* * *

Content of the Courses

In Section 1 there will be an introduction to Bible study and to the conduct of worship in youth organizations. The ecumenical movement and its significance for youth work will be considered; and students will be given practical help in meeting the criticisms of Christianity and of the churches which they are likely to encounter. In Section 2 expert visiting lecturers will speak about home, school, work, leisure, politics, and the other factors which make up young people's environment. Section 3 will be concerned with the psychology of adolescence and with the problems which young people have to face. Section 4 will include a course on the principles and methods of youth work by the tutors. Visiting lecturers will speak on the work of the different voluntary organizations and the methods they employ. Time will be given to craft work. Physical training demonstrations will be given by experts, and the students will be introduced to the varied possibilities of drama and music in youth work.

* * *

Lewis Says Men Are Like Eggs

The reception which C. S. Lewis' radio talks on "Beyond Personality" are receiving can be judged by the fact that they have all been reprinted in the *Listener*. Mr. Lewis was speaking last week upon "Is Christianity Hard or Easy?" and trying to show that Christ never meant us to go in for half-measures. "He meant that we must go in for the whole treatment. It's hard; but the sort of compromise we are all hankering after is harder—in fact it's impossible. It may be hard for an egg to turn into a bird; it would be a jolly sight harder for it to learn to fly while remaining an egg. We are like eggs at present. And you can't go on indefinitely being just an ordinary decent egg. We must be hatched or go bad."

* * *

Hymn-Writer's Hospital Celebrates Bicentenary

In Northampton one of the first seven provincial hospitals in this country is celebrating its 200th birthday. Its origin, as it is told by Mr. John Archer in the *Congregational Quarterly*, takes us back to the days of Philip Doddridge, who was not only a great hymn-writer and a "dissenting divine and scholar," but also one of the two founders of that very great hospital. Two hundred years ago outside of London there were only one or two hospitals in the whole country. The other founder was Dr. James Stonhouse, who in Doddridge's own words was "a most abandoned rake and audacious deist." Stonhouse found in Doddridge a true friend. Rake as he was he loved to care for the poor, and the dissenting divine and he built the 40-bed hospital in which he was the leading physician. Up to this time he had never been in a place of worship. But one day a patient of his, making arrangements for her death and funeral service, requested that she might have that service in the Castle Hill Chapel, where Doddridge preached, and begged her doctor to attend. This he did, and that visit led to other visits. He listened hidden behind a pillar. Finally Stonhouse became himself a Christian and in afteryears a clergyman of the Church of England. While he was still in Northampton he paid this tribute to Doddridge, whom he attended during a severe illness: "I may say of Dr. Doddridge as Cato does of his son, 'Who would not be that man?'" When next we note at the foot of a hymn "Philip Doddridge," and join in

"O God of Bethel, by whose hand
Thy people still are fed,"

we may remember how he and the most abandoned rake together founded a hospital.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Says Preaching Is On Decline

Editor Declares Unitarian Pulpiteers Have Lost Art—Claim Segregation of Blood Plasma has Stopped

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, April 15.—Richard Lloyd Jones, editor and owner of the *Tulsa Tribune*, attended church in Chicago on a recent Sunday and the result is an article in the *Christian Register* (Unitarian) which will cause some ears to burn. Unitarian preaching in this city, said Mr. Jones, has almost died out. Recalling the great Robert Collyer, the blacksmith-preacher who filled a 1,600-seat church auditorium regularly for years, he told of finding just 16 persons, including himself, in Collyer's church here. "Most of our Unitarian preachers," he writes, "talk like professors of philosophy who are delivering Tuesday morning's eleven o'clock lecture in 'Philosophy B, open to those who have had Philosophy A.' . . . Preaching power must be measured by congregational count. Strong churches are made by strong preachers, strong personalities, warm and radiant."

* * *

Huge Throngs Attend Easter Services

Mr. Jones had some kind words to say concerning Preston Bradley, minister of the largest Unitarian church in the world, which is located here. He strongly hinted that the reason some of his fellow ministers, and not Unitarians only, lacked enthusiasm for Dr. Bradley may be plain jealousy. However that may be, Dr. Bradley's People's Church reports that its four Easter services were attended by 7,000 people, and that 5,000 were present at the Holy Week services in the Erlanger theater at which Dr. Bradley spoke. He has been pastor of the People's Church for 32 years and speaks daily on the radio.

* * *

Houser Transfers To Cleveland

George Houser, local secretary of the Chicago Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1942, left this week to open a new fellowship office in Cleveland. He will give special attention to developing labor and race relations, in both of which fields he has done distinguished work in Chicago. Miss Catharine Raymond, long active as a volunteer worker in the Chicago branch, will succeed him as executive secretary of the Chicago organization. The annual spring conference of the Chicago group meets today at St. Paul's Methodist Church. Prof. Mulford O. Sibley of the University of Illinois is speaking. A Chicago group of F.O.R. members who have had prison experience, spurred on by Roger Axford's article on the Cook county jail in a recent issue of The Christian Century, plan systematically to gather material on prison conditions from pacifists

who have been in jail, so that they can effect improvements. A beginning has already been made.

* * *

Says Blood Is Not Segregated

Eugene Schneider and Armin Limper, students at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill., are in receipt of a letter written on official Red Cross stationery and signed by Capt. Lawrence A. Drolett of the army medical corps stating: "I have personally administered blood plasma . . . and have given it to all races of men in our armed forces. I have also studied and witnessed the processing of this blood in the United States and can verify that there is absolutely no segregation of Negro and white blood in either the processing or administration of human plasma."

* * *

Catholic School Starts Good Neighbor Plan

Loyola University has announced an institute of inter-American affairs for the summer quarter beginning June 28. An inaugural conference will be held May 12, 13 with representatives of the state department, the Pan-American Union, the office of the coordinator of inter-American affairs, and midwestern universities participating. Courses in language, history, political life and international relations will be given. Daytime, late afternoon and evening classes will be offered, the last in the belief that many persons qualified for technical services in medicine, business, social work, engineering and public administration will avail themselves of them. Courses will lead to B.A. and M.A. degrees in inter-American affairs. Paul S. Lietz has been named director of the institute. Exchange professors will supplement the faculty of the university, already rated very high in the field of inter-American affairs.

* * *

And So Forth

The publication of Seventh Day Adventist literature doubled last year, H. M. Blunden of Washington, D. C., told 300 publishers, store managers and field sales directors of the denomination meeting here. Total sales were $6,000,000. Part of the profits is being set aside to rebuild destroyed publishing houses of the church in China and Europe.

Six Northwestern University co-eds and two faculty members gave their blood early this month to save the life of Ikuo Oyama, 54, Japanese research associate in political science at the university. Head of the Ronoto or farm-labor party in Japan which opposed the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Mr. Oyama fled to America and has been at Northwestern since 1933.

Fifty firms, schools and agencies have participated in preparing a vocational exhibit at the Jewish People's Institute, 3500 Douglas Blvd., in which jobs can be "seen, studied and tried out."

Robert Levin of the C.I.O., speaking to the social workers' publicity council, said that the worker is "suspicious of social work" chiefly because of the coercive rather than educational methods by which community funds are raised.

Fifty-two hundred Rotary clubs will be represented at a convention limited to 200 delegates to be held here May 18-22.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Cites Lessons of Willkie's Defeat

Progressive and Democratic Parties Had Drained Republican Party of All its Liberal Elements

(Special Correspondence)

MADISON, WIS., April 14.—How did it happen? Wendell Willkie had the support of both the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Wisconsin State Journal* of Madison, yet he was overwhelmingly defeated. The reasons have more than local importance. The Republican leader outspokenly opposed isolationism and accepted the idea of the social service state. How did he lose the state which is the home of progessivism in politics?

Republican Party Doubly Purged

For years the struggle between the conservative and liberal elements in Wisconsin was fought out in the primaries between the old guard and the progressive wing of the Republican party. With the formation of the Progressive party most of the liberals went with La Follette. That party however is now crippled in the state by its inherited isolationism. Moreover, the Democratic party, hitherto a weak minority, as a result of the New Deal has gathered considerable liberal strength from both Progressives and Republicans, as well as from the small Socialist party in Milwaukee. Wisconsin's G.O.P. was self-purged of all its liberal elements. It was one of the least likely states for Mr. Willkie to have captured.

Isolationism a Factor

Some further observations are pertinent. In the 1930 census the percentages of citizens of foreign birth or parentage in this most isolationist of states were: German, 47.9 per cent; Scandinavian, 16.8 per cent; Slavic, 18.6 per cent; British, 10 per cent; others, 6.7 per cent. The spirit of revolt which once characterized those who fled Germany had yielded to the conservatism characteristic of farmers. Moreover, these good folk came from Europe to escape constant wars, and are not easily to be led back into Continental embroilments. The widespread sympathy with the oppressed Scandinavian countries has not overcome the lack of enthusiasm for a war on Germany, even though Wisconsin German-Americans of this generation are for the most part thoroughly anti-nazi. As for the war in the Pacific, Wisconsonians care only to "lick the Japs." No lust for empire exists among dairy farmers, factory workers and resort operators—the three principal industries in the state.

Conservative Religion Plays a Part

Further light on Willkie's defeat comes from the religious census of 1936. Among the 3,100,000 souls in the Badger state it lists 1,600,000 church members: 745,000 Catholics, 515,000 Lutherans, 345,000 non-Lutheran Protestants. The Lutheran groups, conceiving the church in sacramentarian and biblical terms, are among the more socially and politically conservative. The Catholic Church is not without its liberal groups, Marquette University being a promising center of education in economics. The non-Lutheran Protestants are not all socially progressive by any means.

Local Progressivism Grows

That there is a continued interest in social liberalism in reputedly progressive Wisconsin is shown by its early passage of a state labor relations act and by its formation of the first unemployment insurance program in the country. Rural electrification cooperatives have gone forward. The national headquarters of the American Federation of County, State and Municipal Employees is in Madison. The state university has furnished Lloyd Garrison, dean of the law school, as counsel for the War Labor Relations Board, and David Lilienthal as administrator of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

This interest in government has been due in part to a certain theory of education. The University of Wisconsin has advocated not merely a "fearless sifting and winnowing" of truth, but has held that the university belongs to the state and ought to serve the people through its agricultural college, its engineering schools and its extension courses. It is concerned to train young citizens for careers of public service. President Glenn Frank inaugurated this trend and President Clarence Dykstra, who has the knack of effective public administration, has advanced it substantially.

Republican Party on Trial

In spite of Willkie's defeat in the Republican party, Wisconsin has not abandoned its progressivism, however much the Progressive party may be in the doldrums. Whether the Republican reaction in Wisconsin is to repeat itself in other parts of the country or whether other states can redeem the party's reputation remains to be seen. In 1917 Ray Stannard Baker wrote: "In Wisconsin, when two citizens meet, one instantly heaves a tough political argument at his neighbor, and the other responds by belaboring his friend with a wholly contrary idea. Then one of them mentions LaFollette, at which they grapple, pull hair, and roll over in the bushes. When completely exhausted they get up, shake hands, and go home feeling it has indeed been a profitable meeting, and that Wisconsin is the best of states to live in."

ALFRED W. SWAN.

To Hold an Interracial Croppers' Conference

The interracial department of the Federal Council of Churches will hold in Antioch, Ohio, on April 13-14, a meeting to consider the relation between the churches and the problem of tenancy in the south. Fourteen denominations have indicated that they will send representatives. Japanese-Americans and Indians will be included, together with Negroes and whites. A youth group will meet simultaneously. About 150 delegates are expected.

Ask Joint Committee on Conduct of War

Congressman Lawrence H. Smith (Rep.) of Wisconsin has introduced a resolution (H.R. 74) calling for the establishment of a joint committee of the houses of Congress to supervise the conduct of the war and to advise on all matters dealing with national policy, foreign and domestic.

WE

the People of the United States in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty, to ourselves and our Posterity—

We must keep our

DATE WITH DESTINY

says Ralph W. Sockman

in his new book. Using the Preamble of the Constitution as a basis for his discussion, he shows how vital are its ideals and principles to the world today, asserting that "Recent events only serve to reveal the soundness of the foundations laid by our national founders."

According to Dr. Sockman, the solution of present and postwar problems depends on the creative minority of Christians whose personal influence must be so developed as to save themselves and the world from the perils of future wars. Says he: "If a wicked minority can pervert national action—as was the case with the Nazi party in Germany, the Fascist group in Italy, and the military clique in Japan —why cannot a godly minority convert a nation's governmental attitude? It can, provided it cares enough to be creative!" Again: "The time has come for the flag and the cross to face the same task. If the United States and Great Britain show themselves truly Christian nations in the relief and rehabilitation program and at the peace table, they will demonstrate to the Oriental millions that Christianity is something to be desired and the doors of the world will be opened for spiritual advance such as was never dreamed in the days before the war. But if the victors fail to reveal the Christlike spirit now, God help us!"

In chapters that glow with the holy fire of "devout attachment to a good cause" Dr. Sockman seeks to show that the same Christianity "which proved itself potent enough to bring order out of the broken fragments of Rome's imperial culture" can unify this complex modern world, but believes that "democracy can flourish only on a soil fertilized by faith in the worth and dignity of the individual." Nor can we "carry the traffic of a new day in the crooked lanes of the old order. If we are to keep our *date with destiny,* we must cut through the meshwork of expediency with the straight lines of principle; we must make both straight and wide the highway of God in the wilderness of man!"

He sounds this note of hope and promise in his final chapter: "We are not facing a dead end, but rather a challenging task of spiritual and social engineering in the faith that must now firmly grip us."

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PRICES SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN CANADA

Claims Democracy Is Heretical View

Chilean Priest Scores Maritain and His Pro-Democratic Ideas—Catholic Attack Benefits Protestantism

(Correspondence from Chile)

SANTIAGO, March 18.—A most interesting public debate has been going on for some time, between a prominent Roman Catholic priest, Luis Perez, and the leaders of the liberal young Catholics' political party, Falange Nacional. This party is not to be confused with the Spanish fascist Falange. The center of the debate is the person and philosophy of Jacques Maritain. Señor Perez condemns the philosophical, theological and political ideas of the eminent thinker, claiming that they are heretical. The Falangistas have come to his defense and criticize sharply "those reactionaries within the Roman Catholic Church who attack Maritain because of his stand on democracy and social justice." Señor Perez writes in the Roman Catholic daily *Diario Ilustrado*, but this newspaper refuses to print the Falangistas' rebuttal. So the young Catholics have to reply to their spiritual fathers in the columns of the left-wing dailies.

* * *

U. S. Hierarchy's Drive Aids Evangelicals

The drive which the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States started some months ago to convince the public and the government in that country that Evangelical missionaries are obstacles to the good neighbor policy is in many ways turning out to be a blessing to Evangelical forces in Chile. It had to be so. Leading Chileans—officials, statesmen, educators, journalists, reformers, jurists and business men—have recorded their frank opinions in personal letters addressed to James H. McLean, minister of the Presbyterian Church, professor for over 20 years at the University of Chile and present chairman of the Evangelical Council of Chile. They say that the North American missionaries have been efficient builders of good will between their own country and the people of Chile and between these and the peoples of the other South American republics. And besides being the real pioneers in good-neighborliness, they have worked for the redemption and uplifting of the most abandoned groups of society. Three of the most appreciative testimonies come from former presidents of Chile. These expressions of respect and gratitude will be incorporated in a book which is being written by Dr. George P. Howard.

* * *

Charges Roman Church with Embezzlement of Funds

Santiago Urzua, a distinguished Roman Catholic lawyer, has been carrying on for over 12 years now a public campaign to get the Roman Catholic authorities in Santiago to comply with the will of his late wife and establish a school under the name of "Fundación Santa Helena." The church has used the funds for other purposes. According to Señor Urzua, the money involved amounts to 20,000,000 Chilean pesos, the equivalent of $600,000. Señor Urzua contends that the Roman Catholic authorities have not kept within the will of the donor and have taken possession of this large sum not as a result of a judicial pronouncement but as a result of an ecclesiastical decree. One of the most widely read newspapers referred recently to this affair, which has become a burning issue, in the following words: "For the honor of the church this whole thing must come to an end. Señor Urzua, who with tireless serenity has maintained a battle of many years in favor of justice and religion which have been trampled down, is in possession of reports from the judicial councils of the leading political parties in Chile and they all attest to the justice of his cause. The denial of justice works against the church. The time has come for this question to be publicly cleared up, as this negation of justice affects not only the church and its prestige, but the country as well. It is disagreeable to see that because of a sum of money the Roman Catholic Church refuses to practice the precepts she preaches and which sometimes she tries to impose upon those of dissenting ideas."

* * *

Christian Associations Expand Student Work

The quadrennial meetings of leaders of the Young Men's Christian associations in South America were held in February, at Santiago and in the near-by summer resort El Tabo. Seventy-five delegates from most of the South American countries were present at the international young people's convention. Twenty-five came to the convention of secretaries and 50 to the seventh continental convention. Postwar problems and opportunities and the new strategy for dealing with these were some of the matters dealt with. Reports of the influence of the Y.M.C.A. in the total life of thousands of South American young people were very encouraging. New plans for a stronger religious and social emphasis were adopted. Present were Darius D. Davis, representing the World Alliance of the Y.M.C.A. at Geneva; Robert C. Mackie, general secretary of the World Federation of Christian Students; and A. E. Turner, South American Y.M.C.A. worker and Rotary club organizer.

* * *

Catholics Organize Rival Conference

Coinciding with these meetings came the public announcement of the week of study of the Pax Romana and of the International Committee of Catholic university students, to be held in Santiago March 19-26. Forty-five delegates from Central and South America will be present and there will also be a special representative from the international office of Pax Romana, which is in Washington, D. C.

* * *

And So Forth

Reports of the recent annual meetings of the Evangelical denominations in Chile reveal highly fruitful results for 1943. Total new accessions topped the 5,000 mark. These achievements have given new stimulus to the leaders who are preparing for a still more successful year.

The Evangelical day schools located at Iquique, Antofagasta, Valparaiso, Santiago, Angol and the Araucanian region in southern Chile report overcrowded enrollment at the opening of the 1944 school year this month.

PEDRO ZOTTELE.

Says U.S. Homes Are Semi-Pagan

Bishop Huston Declares Church Has Not Failed—Williston Defends Return of Nisei to the Northwest

(Correspondence from Washington)

SEATTLE, April 4.—"The church's postwar job is to convert the semi-pagans of America into 100 per cent Christians if we are to succeed in saving anything that savors of a Christian peace for the world as a whole," declared S. Arthur Huston, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Olympia, at the opening of the diocesan annual convention here. "How many of our young men, now scattered all over the face of the globe, had anything like a religious background when they went into the service? What is it that our chaplains have discovered and are telling us repeatedly? Simply this, that with occasional exceptions for whom they are truly thankful, the overwhelming majority of the youth now in the throes of war know little or nothing about God, the Bible, the church or anything whatsoever that constitutes a foundation-stone in that just and durable peace for which they are fighting. And whose fault is this? Certainly not the church's. It is plainly the fault of the homes from which they come—homes Christian in name, semi-pagan in practice."

* * *

Cheer Proposal for Return of Exiles

Expressions ranging from "Deport the Japs" to "Let them come back as full-fledged Americans" came from the audience addressed by Frank Williston, University of Washington professor of Oriental affairs, at the forum of the First Methodist Church at Kent. Some months ago a number of Kent citizens campaigned against the return to that area of any of the 3,000 Japanese who once lived there. Signs appeared in public places reading, "We don't want any Japs back here ever." Nevertheless when Dr. Williston proposed that the Japanese-Americans be given a square deal he received considerable applause. "Attacks on the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority," declared Dr. Williston. "Former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew has said that the majority of Japanese-Americans are wholly loyal to the United States. They have rendered splendid service as soldiers in the United States army. I would not want to penalize these people through blind prejudice. My real text of the evening is that we should have a high regard for the sanctity of American citizenship."

* * *

Finns Aid Russian War Relief

The group of 100 Finnish-American women in Seattle who are helping in war relief for Soviet Russia has the distinction of being the only such group in the United States engaged in that work. "We are Americans first," said Mrs. Adolph Pakala, secretary of the Finnish auxiliary. "Naturally we recall our homeland and are concerned about it, but we are part of the

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April Pulpit Book Club Selection

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A Novel of James, the Brother of Christ

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by Herman J. Sweet

Practical suggestions to use in guiding young people into the Christian life and belief. This book promotes those factors that are the best in community and home life, and is excellent for group study. $1.00

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April Selection Religious Book Club

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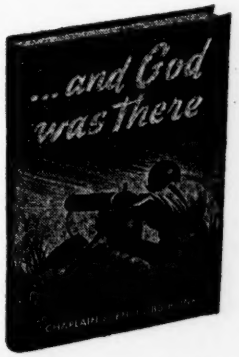
"Dr. Smart writes as a pastoral minister, addressing the book primarily to laymen. With rare insight into the need of doing so and with exceptional skill in its achievement, he translates theology into the non-technical language which can be expected to be meaningful to men and women who have not had theological training."—*Frank H. Caldwell.* $2.00

AND GOD WAS THERE

by

Chaplain Eben. Cobb Brink

$1.00



Here is a book to fill a real need on the Home Front—especially for the families of men and women in active service. This reassuring account of the actual religious experiences of soldiers under shellfire and in the desolation of foxholes, is perfect to read, to give, and to recommend.

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Allies and are for them 100 per cent." "Misguided is the word we Finnish women prefer to use in referring to our homeland's present policy," said Mrs. Lauri Turri, treasurer of the auxiliary. These Finnish women have been organized since 1918, the year following Finland's declaration of independence. "This group of women comprises one of the hardest-working, most loyal units we have," declared Dr. Richard E. Fuller, chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc.

* * *

Returns Racial Form Of Draft Board

Gordon Hirabayashi, Washington-born University of Washington senior convicted a year ago last October of violating the Japanese curfew regulations, has again contested the constitutionality of the draft board powers. In order to keep the United States attorney informed of his actions and whereabouts, Mr. Hirabayashi sent that official a copy of the letter he wrote to his draft board giving his reasons for returning unfilled a recently received racial questionnaire. He said: "This questionnaire which I am returning to you unfilled is an outright violation of both Christian and American principles of justice and democracy. The form is based solely on the grounds of ancestry. No other persons have been required to fill in a further statement because of ancestry." At present Mr. Hirabayashi is in Spokane working under the American Friends Service Committee on Japanese resettlement problems.

* * *

Newsboy Fails to Get Council Seat

The most prominent news vendor of Seattle, Frank Turco, entered the recent primaries, finishing seventh. He was born in Pittsburgh and received his first training in dealing with the public as an organizer for the Miners and Blacksmiths Union. Loss of a leg made work at his trade impractical; so he became a newsboy. He has been an officer of one kind or other in the Newsboys Union, A.F. of L. Local 15,834, for the past 20 years.

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Portugal Aids in Prisoner Trade

American and Other Prisoners Helped by Red Cross—Germans Celebrate a Special Easter Holiday

(Correspondence from Portugal)

LISBON, April 2.—From the point of view of United States readers, the most interesting recent event here has been the exchange of North and South American war prisoners—diplomats, civilians and military men—with Axis and Vichy-French subjects from the Americas. The story has been covered so fully by the journalists who were among the exchangees that it would be superfluous to repeat it. But one point cannot be too much insisted upon. That is the part played by Portugal in the series of "hospitalities" forced upon her by the war. Whether it be a case of shiploads of wounded soldiers or trainloads of diplomats or simple civilians, the methods organized by Portugal have smoothed the way through the complicated formalities. The Portuguese Red Cross does the utmost to help healthy and sick alike. This recent exchange of more than 1,000 prisoners of each side included a large party of American Friends, a Polish-American church dignitary and a number of Polish and Canadian nuns.

* * *

Germans Fear The Worst

Those of the German party obviously viewed the prospect of returning home with mixed feelings. One German, a minor official, expressed himself strongly on this point and wished to leave at least his children in Portugal. These people were well aware that they would find their homeland bitterly changed, but it is doubtful that they realize how complete the change is. The devastation of their cities, the severe food rationing, the reported lowering in morale all around, together with the enormous influx of foreign workers, are things which no newspaper or radio can really make vivid.

* * *

Reich Workers Given National Holiday

These travelers will arrive at home in time for Easter and for the workers' holiday promised by the government. For four years now German men and women have been working at a pitch unequaled in industrial history. In spite of extra rations of sugar, bread and meat their diet has become steadily worse. Even the issuing of special vitamin tablets to miners has been insufficient to stem the decrease in vitality among them. The German authorities say that the holiday is a reward to the nation. Of course they will make a processional, pep-talk occasion of it. But their announcement has greatly raised the workers' hopes that this means an easier life in the future. Reports are that the holiday is to be a four-day affair, given to as many workers as possible without altogether stopping production. Incidentally, the Germans who hope to find religious literature when they return home will be

badly disappointed. During the heavy bombardments of Leipzig, the "city of print," huge stores of such books were gutted and many presses destroyed. Moreover, a government decree forbids the printing of religious books at present. The restriction on religious magazines has existed for some time.

* * *

French Hierarchy Condemns Bombing of Cities

The French cardinals and bishops, meeting at the end of February, issued a declaration summing up their attitude toward present problems. They condemn "all injustice . . . in the name of right and morality," and denounce the bombardment of cities on the ground that war does not justify such a procedure. If war has laws, "they are above all those fixed by natural morality and divine law"—a statement which seems to indicate some confusion of mind. The prelates add, however, that these natural and divine laws require the people to attempt to solve world problems through international conventions rather than by brute force. The statement ends with an appeal for respect for human life, the safeguarding of home and family, and faith in a righteous law.

* * *

Fear Deportation of Belgian Girls

Holland has at last received permission to send Dutch priests to minister to its nationals in nazi labor camps. In Belgium, Louis Joseph, bishop of Liège, has made a desperate appeal against the transportation of young girls to Germany. In certain Belgian towns, it appears, the Germans have taken a census of girls between 15 and 18. Toward the end of last year all those listed in Verviers were rounded up and taken to forced labor in a war factory. This factory was on Belgian soil, but in an area completely open to bombardment. Fearing that the next step will be the deportation of Belgian girls to factories in Germany itself, the bishop personally protested to the nazi authorities and asked that the girls already deported be returned home. He tells of his appeal in a pastoral letter addressed to the Catholics of his area.

* * *

Portugal Prepares For Tourists

Today's papers carry a message from the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon calling on the faithful to give prayers of thanks for the rain which has just blessed the crops. A three months' drought threatened all vital crops. Some weeks ago prayers for rain were offered in all churches. The drought broke a fortnight since. With this year's opening session of the Portuguese Parliament, elaborate plans are being laid for both urban and rural development. Particular attention is being paid to the problem of workers' housing. With an eye to the future, a campaign to "prepare Portugal for postwar tourist traffic" is being launched. There are many who feel that new hospitals and schools and the trained personnel to operate them would at the moment be worth quite a number of new roads, modernized post offices and luxury hotels. However, it is the latter policy which at the present seems to have the right of way, at least in the press.

JOSE SHERCLIFF.

WORSHIP

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This great work by the late English writer has been a steady seller since publication five years ago. Despite wartime shortages, the book is again available. "A thoroughly readable treatise of what worship is and a source book in studying the forms and growth of worship in the various branches of the Christian church."—*Missions.* $3.00

THE ALTAR AND THE WORLD

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"For anyone who wants a thoughtful and penetrating analysis of the world and its spiritual needs, this is a book to be read. It will prove invaluable, as well, for the direction of those who believe that the Church in her Liturgy has the power to deliver society from chaos, want, and woe."—*The Living Church.* $1.25

FROM SCIENCE TO GOD

By Karl Schmidt

In this book Professor Schmidt speaks directly to two groups: those who are alienated from religion and ignore it because of its conflict with science, and those who maintain that religion must be divested of all dogma and theology. He holds that religion, in relying on science for its principles, is seeking false support, for science has no need for God. $2.00

GET TOGETHER AMERICANS

By Rachel Davis-DuBois

"The writer has done something original and, based on careful study and very wide reading combined with long experience, she has given us here a method of approach which sounds so simple, so sensible that this reader is determined to put it into practice in his own little corner of the church."—Henry J. Simpson in *The Churchman.* $1.75

BOYS AND GIRLS AT WORSHIP

By Marie Cole Powell

"An intelligent book of worship materials and techniques for use with children of nine to fourteen years. It contains much that is new and unconventional, but nothing that is bizarre, strained or irrelevant to the purpose of worship. For teachers and leaders this book will repay careful study."—*Christian Century.* $2.00

LIFE'S UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

By Harold Cooke Phillips

Here is a great series of sermons preached in wartime to people confronted with problems that must have an answer if life is to be supportable. They are not new questions: the prophets and Jesus faced and answered them; but the earthquakes making our life tremble today thunder their urgency anew. $1.50

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L. WILSON KILGORE
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Scott Announces Intention to Vote

Georgia Negro Leader Will Make Test of Primary Ruling—Congregational Church Plans Expansion in South

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

MACON, GA., April 10.—While many white southerners, including this correspondent, are highly gratified at the Supreme Court decision extending to Negroes balloting privileges in Democratic primaries, the reaction of party leaders who have expressed themselves is preponderantly and emphatically in opposition to it. Several have declared their determination to preserve traditional white control of such elections as an inalienable state's right, and have stated their intention to prevent Negro participation regardless of the court's action. The chairman of the Georgia Democratic committee argues that the decision does not affect this state and insists that Negroes are still not qualified to vote in its white primary. Florida's party chairman likewise contends that the ruling does not involve Florida, and adds: "We'll certainly resist any attempt to have Negroes vote in our primaries." Meanwhile C. A. Scott, Georgia Negro who is chairman of the public affairs committee of the N.A.A.C.P., has expressed his desire and that of thousands of colored Georgians to be affiliated with the Democratic party and has announced his intention to vote in the primary to be held July 4.

* * *

Court Ruling May Be Evaded

It is this correspondent's opinion that since the court's decision does not pronounce on such important questions as poll taxes and educational qualifications, these barriers will probably be erected in ways that will keep most Negroes out of the primaries in Georgia and Florida. It must also be remembered that white prejudice, functioning through intimidation, often deters the Negro in southern communities from action for which he has legal sanction. Past federal court decisions have been evaded; this new one will probably be also.

* * *

Says Rise of English-Speaking Peoples Is Nearing End

Speaking at Lake Wales, Fla., Roger Babson said that 1944 will probably go down in history as the epochal year of the past three centuries. He declared that the next decade might witness the end of the ascent of the English-speaking peoples. In his opinion, their disposition to forget God, turn away from his word, violate his Sabbath, neglect his church and indulge in alcoholic drink is definitely halting their advancement. Mr. Babson insisted that we will need all the spiritual guidance and courage we can get in the momentous years ahead. For that reason the preachers and churches should play a paramount part in postwar affairs. In an open letter to Negroes, which he wrote recently from Florida, the noted statistician deplored their inclination to squander the high wartime wages they are making and urged them to save their money in preparation for the slump that is to be expected after the conflict.

* * *

Seek Congregational Strong Point in Southeast

With a view to making the Central Congregational Church of Atlanta a "Congregational strong point" in the southeast, Thomas Anderson has recently accepted its pastorate, coming from the Brewster Pilgrim Church, Detroit. Dr. Anderson was encouraged to undertake the experiment by a resolution adopted by his denomination's church extension division, appropriating $10,000 over a three-year period for the work, provided the Central Church succeeded in securing his services and launched out upon an enlarged program under his management. Dr. Anderson acknowledges that there are elements of risk in the venture, "since the south does not respond to a liberal religion as readily as some other parts of the nation." To stimulate a greater appreciation throughout the area for "the Congregational-Christian way of believing and doing," and as a contribution to the spiritual and cultural life of the section, nationally known leaders in religion and philosophy will be brought to Central Church for special services each year.

* * *

Southern Baptists Send Kits to Russia

Southern Baptists have shipped 151,261 kits, valued at $453,783, to the war-devastated areas of Russia. So reports Louie D. Newton, Atlanta, chairman of the committee in charge. A cable received from Leo Gruliow, personal representative in Moscow of the American War Relief Committee, says: "The Soviet Union today is one vast Valley Forge. Gifts from America have greatly heartened the Russian people. Each kit conveys a message of friendship, every bit as important as the supplies themselves." The director of a children's home in Stalingrad cables: "It is good that children here know that they have friends abroad." Each kit contains soap, dehydrated vegetables, bullion cubes, sugar, condensed milk, hard candy, needles and thread, crochet hooks, surgical adhesive tape, gauze bandage, a towel, and a pair of gloves or socks. Dr. Newton expresses the hope that by the time the convention meets in Atlanta in May, 250,000 kits will have been sent.

* * *

And So Forth

David M. Gardner, for the past 15 years minister of the First Baptist Church, St. Petersburg, Fla., has resigned his pastorate and has gone to Texas to become editor of the *Baptist Standard*, state paper of the denomination.

The Joint Commission on Cooperation and Counsel, composed of 15 representatives from the Methodist Church and 15 from the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, is meeting in Atlanta this week to discuss the educational needs of the Negro and other matters of vital interest to the two denominations.

Gov. Ellis Arnall has warned Georgians that if the effort of "a very sincere group of our citizenry" to prohibit the sale of beer, wine and liquor is successful, it will reduce the state's yearly revenue $7,000,000 and seriously cripple the public school system.

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Labor Says War Is the Enemy

A. F. of L. Rally in New York Declares Social Justice First War Aim—Ask Equal Treatment for Indians

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 14.—Headed by Matthew Woll, the postwar reconstruction committee of the American Federation of Labor made public its report at a meeting here of 1,000 delegates from hundreds of labor unions. The guiding principles were: (1) War is the enemy. (2) Lasting peace must rest on social justice and include all peoples. (3) The only safety from war is in the international organization of peace. (4) Victory is not enough. Political and military programs must be associated with a far-reaching economic program designed not to advantage certain nations at the expense of others but to organize and utilize the new productive powers of industry and agriculture for the advancement of the standards of living of all peoples. (5) Prosperity can be achieved by a free people under a regime of social justice. (6) Freedom of thought and expression must be safeguarded throughout the world. (7) Long-range plans must be made now.

* * *

Private Monopolies and Statism Decried

The text of the report stated: "History has demonstrated that concentration of wealth and economic power in private monopolistic hands undermines the very foundations of a free society. On the other hand, it is also imperative that the trend toward centralization and the expansion of government control be arrested. . . . Experience has shown that the union of economic and political authority can result in a government so powerful that it menaces the independence and the freedom of the people. . . . We contend that it is only as organizations of labor, farmers and other functional groups maintain their essential freedom that the danger of either class or state despotism can be averted. We therefore demand that in both industry and government more adequate means be provided whereby these functional groups can be directly represented in the formulation, administration and the valuation of over-all policies." Speakers at the session were greatly concerned over Russia's unilateral action on territorial and other European and Asiatic questions. They regarded these actions as incompatible with the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow declaration.

* * *

Japanese in New Jersey Asked to Leave

"Those Japanese were good workers but I'm getting rid of them because I've had enough trouble to last me," declared a young New Jersey farmer who had hired five Japanese farmers through the War Relocation Authority. One of his sheds had been burned. His family was frightened. Some 300 farmers had formed a "committee" and announced that they would take action if the Japanese were not removed from the community. This is not the first dissension in the community, however. It has a mixed population of thrifty farmers with Polish and Russian background. Racial and religious difficulties have flared up before and these were said to be the basis for the present disturbance. A New Jersey assemblyman said that the opposition to the Japanese-Americans apparently was based on fear that the newcomers would settle permanently in the state.

* * *

Ask Equality of Treatment For East Indians

Over 1,000 people attended a meeting at Town Hall called by the India League of America in support of legislation authorizing immigration and naturalization of nationals of India. The speakers were Representative Emanuel Celler, Fannie Hurst, Frank Kingdon, Roger N. Baldwin and Elmore M. McKee. Dr. McKee said: "I would have America first in liquidating every trace of economic, political or racial imperialism; in seeking freedom and autonomy for colonial peoples; in welcoming peoples of all lands and races to citizenship here; in rooting out every domestic evidence of prejudice and bias; in branding isolationism, the child of fear and greed and parent of war, as an affront to our national genius; in taking the risks of surrender of such portions of national sovereignty as are essential to the creation of world organization; and in unceasingly planting the cross of mercy beside the flag of justice."

* * *

Over 600,000 Negroes Are Uprooted

According to the annual report of the National Urban League "nearly 600,000 Negro workers have left their homes in search of war work" and must be helped to settle down. Other problems that must be faced, says the report, are the roles of management, labor and Negro leadership, and the demobilization of Negro service men after the war and their transfer to jobs in private industry. William H. Baldwin, president of the league, declared that the only way to meet these problems is "the development of a genuinely interracial movement broad enough in organization and tough enough in fiber to take over the leadership in this readjustment period."

* * *

And So Forth

According to a report on the 1940 census made by statisticians of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 4,500,000 children in the United States under 18 years of age live in families broken by death, separation or divorce.

The first of a series of television broadcasts of church services was telecast on Easter Sunday evening. The service was conducted by Harry Edwin Ulrich of the Presbyterian Church, White Plains. It included scripture reading, sermon, an anthem and a solo. J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Famine Continues In Greece

Reports reaching the Central Bureau for European Interchurch Aid in Geneva reveal that there is still a "terrible situation" in Greece. Food is reaching there but skyrocketing inflation prevents people from buying it.

As years pass into history they are often characterized by the books that have reflected the predominant mood of a people. Such a symbol of its times is THE ROBE, a novel of enduring faith in a simple, all-encompassing ideal. If you have already read it, speak of it, loan it.

The Robe

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Says Jesus Weeps Over White Race

Mordecai Johnson Declares America Faces Last Chance—New York Insane are Suffering from Deficient Care

(Correspondence from New York State)

SYRACUSE, April 11.—A highlight of this year's record series of Lenten services in Syracuse was the sermon by Mordecai Johnson of Howard University on "Jesus Weeping over Jerusalem." Dr. Johnson described Christ as weeping over the United States today. "God has tried all the great nations of the world," he said. "He gave a unique opportunity to Great Britain and she has failed. He tried France, Belgium, Holland and each of the white nations to see whether he could find one who would put humanity above race and nationality. We are the last of the nations. In the next few years, it will be determined whether the work of God in this world can be done by the white people or must be assigned to some other race. God seeks a nation to be his vehicle in serving the great world cause of the brotherhood of man. The decision whether the United States will accept this mission may probably be made between now and the next election."

* * *

Sees Peace in 500 Years

Mortimer J. Adler, professor of philosophy of law at the University of Chicago, speaking in the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, predicted that it will be 500 years before the world can be organized on a warless basis. He insisted that the only way to secure permanent peace is through the abolition of the sovereign state and the establishment of a world government, and said such achievements cannot be quickly or easily brought about.

* * *

Mentally Ill Treated Worse than Cattle

A five-man commission appointed by Governor Dewey under the Moreland Act recently made a report which revealed distressing conditions among some of the institutions and hospitals under the control of the state department of mental hygiene. There is a serious staff shortage and a great overcrowding of patients. In the state as a whole there is a staff shortage of 31 per cent for physicians, 32 per cent for nurses, and 17 per cent for other hospital workers. At the Craig colony for epileptics at Sonyea, 100 women were found to be sleeping on mattresses on the floor because there were not enough beds. The report made an unfavorable comparison between the accommodations for the patients and those for the cows on the institution farm.

* * *

U. S. Housing Called World's Worst

Dorothy Thompson recently visited Utica under the auspices of the Veterans of World War II. She made a vigorous attack on the housing situation in this country. "It is terrible," she said. "I never saw homes anywhere in Europe in such conditions as some in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas." In discussing our postwar economic policy, she urged sending capital and technicians to the broken countries as the best possible means of establishing profitable markets.

* * *

And So Forth

Through the gift of Myron C. Taylor, former chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, the Taylor homestead in Lyons is being made into a community center. A trained director will be employed.

Christ Presbyterian Church of Hempstead, L. I., is having a double celebration on April 24. It will observe the 300th anniversary of the founding of the church and the 50th anniversary of the pastorate of Frank M. Kerr.

Alfred Lee Klaer of Morgantown, W. Va., has become the Presbyterian student-pastor at Cornell University, succeeding Frederick W. Brink, who has become a chaplain in the navy.

WALTER D. CAVERT.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves (Univ.) *Adventure.* Departs from Arabian Nights original to tell of a caliph's son, reared among thieves, who returns to Bagdad to regain his throne. Gaudily colored, resplendent in settings and costumes, its action unsophisticated, reminiscent of old-fashioned westerns, this is *colorful, exciting, if trite* entertainment. M, Y

Hat Check Honey (Univ.) *Comedy.* Old-time vaudeville performer queers son's chances as singer by his exuberance, but in end saves his career. Stilted dialogue, artificial situations. *Fair of its kind.* M, Y

Lady in the Dark (Par.) *Comedy* set to music, in gaudy color, with dream fantasies centered about irascible woman editor who seeks in psychoanalysis the key to her irascibility. The extravaganza to end all extravaganzas so far as fantastically elaborate costumes, sets, decorations are concerned. Although characters and story are artificial, and whole is one long fashion parade, film manages through its *music and spectacle* to be expensively entertaining as escapist fare. M

The Memphis Belle (Official Army Air Force Film). *Documentary* showing action inside and outside a Flying Fortress during real bombing raid, with 25th mission of one crew as running theme. Best American documentary on air combat yet released, this gives *vivid* sense of sights and sounds, dangers and fears of such experience. M, Y

My Best Gal (Rep.) *Comedy* about brash, swing-minded youngsters who put themselves over as entertainers and win theatrical contract. *Noisy, amateurish,* juvenile in values and quality of production. Y

Shine on Harvest Moon (War.) *Musical* purporting to picture career of Nora Bayes, theatrical singer, and her husband, a song writer. Story is thin and artificial, reputedly far from authentic, but singing, "acts," etc., have flavor of early 1900's, provide *pleasant* entertainment. M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Happy Land, Lassie Come Home, Madame Curie, My Friend Flicka, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, This Is the Army, Thousands Cheer.

For Mature Audience: The City That Stopped Hitler, Claudia, Corvette K-225, Destination Tokyo, Guadalcanal Diary, Gung Ho!, Holy Matrimony, Lost Angel, Sahara, The Song of Bernadette, Watch on the Rhine, The Young Mr. Pitt. 4-26-44

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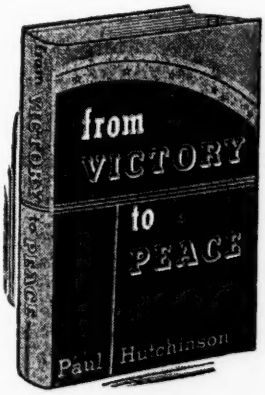

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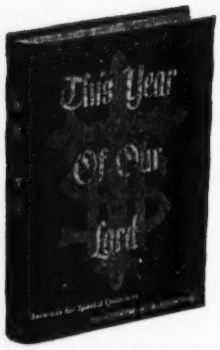

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